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XUM

THE

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OCTOBER 1807.

No XXI.

ART. I. *The Speech of the Honourable J. Randolph, Representative for the State of Virginia in the General Congress of America, on a Motion for the Non-Importation of British Merchandize pending the present disputes between Great Britain and America. With an Introduction by the Author of "War in Disguise."* 8vo. pp. 75. (New York printed.) London reprinted. Butterworth, 1806.

Concessions to America the Bane of Britain; or the Cause of the present distressed Situation of the British Colonial and Shipping Interests explained, and the proper Remedy suggested. 8vo. pp. 63. London, Richardson. 1807.

Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride; or, British, American, and West India Interests, considered. By Macall Medford, Esq. of America. 8vo. pp. 102. London, Richardson. 1807.

THESE three pamphlets relate nearly to the same subject,—the discussions which have for about two years existed in form between this country and the United States, which have in reality, however, been growing up with the increase of the American commerce since the beginning of last war, and which have now come to the point of being speedily terminated, either by mutual concessions, or by an appeal to arms. It is peculiarly interesting as well as important, at this particular moment, to examine well the ground on which the parties are taking their stand; and we are not without hopes that there is yet time to remove the ignorance in which the public of both countries have been studiously kept, until the voice of the multitude has seemed to decide for war. But it is not merely for its temporary interest that we have chosen to bring this subject fully before our readers

on the present occasion. There are questions of a general and permanent importance involved in the discussion; some of them, too, never yet treated of by writers on public law; nor ever, so far as we can discover, introduced by statesmen into their views of national policy or rights. The consideration of these topics is not only called for by the great ignorance which appears to prevail respecting them, but it is peculiarly adapted to the plan of a literary journal. We purpose, therefore, to examine at large the questions of public law and policy suggested by the present state of foreign and colonial affairs. The subject of neutral commerce, and, in general, the disputes between Great Britain and the neutral powers, are no doubt intimately connected with the situation of our West Indian colonies. We shall endeavour, however, to separate the latter from the more extensive subject: and shall examine it, in a subsequent article of this Number, with the care which its extraordinary importance demands. We shall begin, at present, with noticing the three pamphlets whose titles we have prefixed.

The speech of Mr Randolph is certainly the production of a vigorous mind. It abounds in plain and striking statements, mixed with imagery by no means destitute of merit, though directed by an exceedingly coarse and vulgar taste. But his arguments and opinions are of more importance than his rhetorical pretensions; for he speaks the sentiments of a respectable party in the United States. He maintains, that a rupture with Great Britain is by all means to be avoided; that America is in much less danger from the preponderance of the English marine in 1806, than she was in 1793, from the coalition against France; that the French conquests have now reversed the policy of America towards Europe; and that the only barrier between France and a universal dominion, before which America as well as Europe must fall, is the British navy. He ridicules the conduct of those who would quarrel with England for maritime rights, and at the same time truckle or give bribes to Spain, the tool of France, after the greatest outrages have been committed upon the very territory of the Union. The cry for war, he says, is raised by the clamorous traders of the seaport towns,--men who cannot properly be said to belong to America, and who, at any rate, drive a commerce uncertain and transitory in its own nature, liable to be terminated at once by a peace in Europe, and much inferior, both in respectability and solidity, to those regular branches of industry which consist in the cultivation or the exchange of American produce. He treats with still greater severity those who undervalue the losses and risks of a war with England. The transference of the carrying trade

trade to whatever nation may remain neutral—the ruin of American navigation by the British navy, without the possibility of gaining any equivalent by means of privateering,—the want of English manufactures—the augmentation of debts and taxes, the choice either of carrying on hostilities feebly, or of endangering the liberties of the country by strengthening the executive;—these calamitous effects of a rupture with England would, according to Mr Randolph, make even the present champions of neutral rights repent of their violence, in six months after they should drive the government into a war.

Such, abstracted from a good deal of declamation chiefly on local and personal topics, is the substance of Mr Randolph's speech, which the able and eloquent author of '*War in Disguise*,' the great leader of the argument on this side of the water, extols both for its own merits, and as a complete justification of his former predictions respecting the conduct of America in the dispute. This introduction, though very hastily prepared for the press, is, like all his other works, spirited and acute; but we must protest against quoting Mr Randolph's speech, as any conclusive evidence of the probable conduct of the United States, or, indeed, as possessing any weight beyond the intrinsic value of the arguments which it contains. Mr Randolph is the orator of a party professedly in opposition to the government. His evidence respecting the bent of public opinion in America, is not much better than the assertion of an English disputant, who espouses the same side of the question; and although his party succeeded in throwing out the first violent measure which was proposed to Congress, it has since failed completely in opposing the more moderate, but determined proofs of irritation against England, which, being given by a great majority of the legislature, cannot surely be regarded as the clamours of a few adventurers in sea-port towns, whom Mr Randolph and his commentator are unwilling to call Americans.

With respect to the opinions maintained by Mr Randolph as an American statesman, we are for the most part disposed to speak in favourable terms. He seems, indeed, to give nearly the same advice to his country, which has been offered to England by those distinguished political leaders, whose counsels, if followed, would have saved Europe from the dreadful calamities of the present war. To cultivate a friendly intercourse with all their European customers, but, if forced to chuse, in such a crisis as this, to prefer the alliance of England, and to make considerable sacrifices rather than go to war at all, appears to be the soundest policy for the Americans. But we cannot help observing, that Mr Randolph has gone a great deal too far in depreciating the importance

of the carrying trade now in the hands of his countrymen. Admitting that the American merchant merely performs the part of what has been termed 'a neutralizing agent;' that he purchases on a long credit in the French or Spanish Islands, and then sells in Europe on a shorter credit, or merely carries the colonial produce circuitously from the plantations to the planter or his consignee--thus effecting the transport of other men's goods without any adequate capital of his own,—does it follow that this is an unprofitable line of employment? Rather, is it not the very traffic of all others the most gainful to speculative merchants? A person of a very small capital, is in this manner enabled to share in the profits of large capitalists. He is repaid exactly as the consignees of our own West Indian planters are. Then, as to the persons so engaged being adventurers of no substance or respectability, we presume there must be a considerable mistake. How comes it that such persons enjoy an unbounded credit with the planters and their agents in Europe? How have they contrived to purchase, according to some statements, the whole French and Spanish shipping—according to all accounts a very large proportion of it? After above twelve years of such lucrative practices, are they still needy adventurers? By the American public accounts, it appears, that in the year ending September 1806, the foreign goods exported from the United States, exceeded sixty millions of dollars in value. If they who began so large a traffic were once mere agents trading for a commission, they must now have become capitalists; and, as the whole remaining exports of the country fall short of this by about nineteen millions, we may easily conjecture how great a proportion of the mercantile men are engaged in it, and how many of the commercial fortunes are derived from this quarter. About half of this branch of commerce, belonging to the French and Spanish colonies, is what England wishes to lop off, in order to hurt her enemies, who profit by it as well as the Americans. Can she be much surprised, if those who are to be entirely ruined for the purposes of British policy, should endeavour by all means to prevent such a blow from being given? or, that other members of the community, who are but little injured by it, should still make common cause with their countrymen? It is, no doubt, the interest of the Americans not to quarrel with England, and it was still less their interest to rebel against her thirty years ago. By a rupture, too, they would infallibly lose the very object for which they threaten hostilities, besides incurring a great many other losses. But if such considerations had any weight in the councils of states, war would be banished from the world; for a declaration of war, whatever be its

its motive, never fails to ensure in the mean time a repetition of the offence which provoked it. But, by defeating the enemy, which is always expected, a stop may, in the end, be put to the evil. Just so may the Americans argue. They may hope to establish for the future the rights which they now claim, and may rather chuse to fight for them, at the risk of losing more, than give them up without resistance.

The second pamphlet now before us, is written by a gentleman engaged in the West India trade, and by its minute coincidence in several of the details with the evidence of Mr Maryatt before the West India Committee, appears clearly to be the production of that gentleman. It is well written, and shows the author to be practically acquainted with his subject. It exhibits marks of acuteness, too, in reasoning, which we are convinced would have led him to sounder opinions, had his mind been free from the bias of his professional habits, and indeed interests. After describing the distressed state of the West India proprietors, (a task unhappily too easy), the author imputes it entirely to the surrender which England has made of her maritime rights. He speaks in a very declamatory manner, of giving up to America now, what we refused to the armed neutrality when our naval power was much more limited; as if the discussions of 1780 and 1801, had the least connexion with the points now in dispute.* He replies, at some length, to the arguments upon the present question delivered in the '*State of the Nation*;' but, as a specimen of his success in the controversy, our readers may take the following. It had been maintained, that it was sufficiently detrimental to the enemy, to make him receive his colonial produce by a circuitous instead of a direct voyage. 'No;' says Mr Maryatt very triumphantly; 'the fact is, that notwithstanding the double voyage, our enemies have their sugars transported from 8s. 11d. to 12s. 6d. per cwt. cheaper than we can carry ours to the same market.' But has he forgotten, that we, too, must carry our produce there by a circuitous voyage? And can he deny, that however great the difference between our war expenses and theirs may be, still there remains a great difference between their war and their peace expenses?—and this difference they owe to the war and the loss of their maritime power. The only answer given to the very im-

 portant

* The only question then moved by the Northern Powers, which can be supposed to have any allusion to the rule of the war 1756, is that of '*Free ships, free goods*;' but the rule was in that war maintained against the Dutch, to whom we nevertheless admitted the latter principle in virtue of the treaty 1674.

portant argument, that France, by transferring her trade to neutrals, loses the nursery of her navy, is a sort of assertion, that Britain is doing so herself by the interference of the Americans, contrary to every statement of our commerce and navigation which possesses any claims to authenticity, and in utter contempt of the very obvious consideration, that the Americans never can breed or shelter sailors who shall afterwards man the French navy, while England is sure of receiving a large supply of American seamen, and a return of her own who have been employed there, as soon as the war is at an end. For one thing, we must give this author the praise due to frankness and candour; he fairly states, that the object which he proposes in blockading the enemy's islands, or rather in stopping entirely their commerce with the Americans and other neutrals, is to ruin their cultivation, and force the proprietors to turn part of their sugar and coffee plantations into provision grounds. This he thinks the best way of relieving our own planters. We shall, in the sequel of the present article, and in examining the West India question, have occasion to consider this project more at length.

The title of Mr Medford's pamphlet is by much the worst thing we have found in it. The saying about the effects of an ill name, applies to books as well as other objects; and we fear that this tract will suffer greatly from a circumstance almost wholly irrelevant to its merits. It is in truth one of the most sensible political essays that have lately appeared, far exceeding any other which has been produced by the present differences, in the rare qualities of candour and impartiality. The general doctrine of Mr Medford is, that both England and America are deeply interested in remaining at peace,—that the government and the most respectable part of the people in each country are averse to war, —but that certain individuals on both sides, have contrived to raise an outcry for hostile measures, and to engage the rabble in its favour. He maintains, that each party should carefully examine, not merely what is its right, but what rights it has really an interest in asserting; that there should be mutual concessions of the unimportant points, and that a stand should be made for the objects of consequence only. This view of the matter leads him to consider the value of the things claimed on both sides; and he is strongly inclined to depreciate them. With respect to seamen escaping from the English navy under colour of American citizenship, he is at a loss to imagine how this evil can be remedied. There was a disposition to quarrel at Norfolk, he admits, which produced the offensive parading of the deserters; but if this had not taken place, the men would have privately

privately gone up the country, and embarked elsewhere, without the possibility of detection. The right of the mother country to monopolize the colonial trade, so as materially to injure the colonists, he stoutly denies. That she may tax, and legislate for them, he does not at all dispute; but he is unable to discover any principle upon which she can be entitled to starve her colonial subjects, for the sake of enriching her merchants at home, by the monopoly of the produce. Make the planter pay, he observes, as much as he now pays to government, but relieve him from the extortions of the broker and merchant. To every interference with the navigation law, he expects the keen opposition of all West India ship owners; but the clamours which they will raise about the ruin of our marine, he thinks, are easily exposed by the statement, that of 21,700 ships, composing the mercantile navy of England, only 785 are engaged in the West India trade. The effects of the navigation law, he conceives, are greatly overrated; and, so far from valuing the power of stopping a trade in contraband of war, he asks, when the want of stores ever kept an enemy from fighting? At the same time, he observes that the enemy has no right to complain of our maritime claims. Towards him every exertion of our hostility is justifiable; and he has no title to intermeddle with exceptions which it is the part of neutrals only to take against our conduct. He illustrates, by various cases, the embarrassments of the neutral traders, and their mercantile connexions in England, from the frequent detention of vessels by our cruizers, and shows how many houses in both countries are ruined, even when the prize courts at last refuse to condemn the cargoes. He also enlarges upon the inconsistency of throwing such impediments in the way of the American trade, when licenses are all the while granted with profusion to secure both our own traders and those of neutral states in their commerce with the enemy's ports. He enters into several details, for the purpose of showing how greatly the expences of the American trade with the West Indies are augmented by the regulation forcing the carriers of colonial produce to land and reship it in their own ports, and how frequently this interrupts the whole plan of a mercantile speculation. Mr Medford has been, for many years, engaged in this trade; and from the uncommon calmness of his general reasonings, we are disposed to pay great respect to his authority upon this point.

The remaining part of the tract is occupied with a comparative statement of the consequences of a war between England and America, to the interests of both countries. The progress of America in wealth and improvement, hitherto rapid beyond all example, and accelerated by the wars of other nations, would

now receive a most material interruption. Her commerce would be nearly destroyed, by the exclusion of her vessels from our ports, and their capture at sea when bound for other places. Her coasts, too, would suffer from the English navy. Her revenues must be raised to the war establishment; and both her debt and taxes greatly increased. Our author further admits, that she could derive no relief whatever from the profligate measure sometimes debated, of confiscating the debts due to British merchants. He asserts, that if a balance were struck, there would be found more money due in England to the Americans than by them, from the amount of their exports directly to the British dominions, and the shares which our traders have in the other branches of American commerce. Mr Medford then enumerates the advantages which his countrymen might derive from the war. They might easily conquer Canada, the inhabitants of which, though unfavourable to America, dislike England as much. To be sure, no great benefit could result from this accession; but it would materially injure the navigation of the English in those seas, and interrupt their supplies of ship stores. By their privateers, they might almost destroy our West India trade; and though this would offer but a poor compensation for the loss of their own commerce, it would tend greatly to make England tire of the contest. They would also have the supply of the West Indies so completely in their hands, that they could occasion an insurrection in every island, by stopping the carriage of provisions;—another exertion of power, which our author candidly admits, would only injure the enemy, without any benefit, nay, with much detriment to themselves. Of the various effects which the war would produce the destruction of the American carrying trade would alone be beneficial to England. The loss of her North American colonies,—the danger of her West Indian settlements,—the want of a market for her goods,—the interruption of part of her supplies of grain, and of about half the cotton used in her manufactures,—the depredations upon her trade by innumerable privateers,--the defalcations which all these losses would occasion in her revenues,—are considerations of so serious a nature to a country already engaged in almost universal war, bent down by debts and taxes, and maintaining with difficulty its commercial station, that our author views them as fit to deter the most resolute enemies of the American carrying trade. He concludes, by attempting to strike a sort of general balance between the losses which the two countries would sustain, and affirms that England would suffer most, that to America the war would certainly be extremely injurious; but that to England it must prove ruinous. The former has done without commerce,

and may try the experiment once more. The latter with difficulty survived that crisis, and is now incomparably less able to meet it. We confess, that the question of, 'which will be most injured, by measures confessedly very detrimental to both,' strikes us as infinitely immaterial. There is no reason whatever for preferring a war which shall injure your enemy more than yourself, to one which shall injure him less, except the difference be so enormous, that, in the one case, he is likely soon to be in your power, or at your mercy;—a difference which, in the present instance, neither party can venture to assert. The short and plain view of the case, which we think ourselves entitled to adopt, is, that both nations would suffer more from a war than from any other event which can happen to them;—that it is their common interest to avoid it;—and that the points chiefly in dispute between them, are either such as justice requires to be abandoned, or a regard for their best interests should prevent them from insisting upon. We shall now illustrate this proposition, by examining the questions alluded to, and shall begin with the new claim urged on the part of England, of a right to search ships of war for seamen, both because this has never been argued, and because it will in all probability be made the avowed ground of the rupture.

It is evident, that the right to search a foreign vessel for deserters is of the very same nature, and governed by the same rules, with the right to search a neutral vessel for contraband goods. You have a right to search for those goods, only because you are injured by their being on board the vessel which trades with your enemy;—you have a right to search for your own runaway seamen who take shelter in the vessel, because you are injured by their being enabled to escape from you. If a neutral carries contraband goods, such as armed men, (which indeed treaties frequently specify in the list), to your enemy, he takes part against you; and your remedy—your means of checking his underhand hostility, is to stop his voyage, after ascertaining the unfair object of it. If the same neutral gives shelter to your seamen, he takes part with your enemy; or, if you happen not to be at war, still he injures you; and your remedy, in either case, is to recover the property, after ascertaining that he has it on board. In both instances, the offence is the same,—the foreign vessel has on board what she ought not to have, consistently with your rights. You are therefore entitled, say the jurists, to redress; and a detection of the injury cannot be obtained without previous search.

If the foreign vessel is a ship of war, such conduct is a direct injury, committed by the government of one nation against another

other nation. For if an American frigate either carries troops or other contraband to France, or carries away deserters from an English man-of-war, and refuses to give them up when claimed; and if the American government avows the proceedings of its ship, then is that government acting an hostile part towards England, who has, in consequence, a right to seek redress,—namely, by going to war. For all such proceedings, therefore, on the part of the foreign government, there is this proper and sufficient remedy. But if the offending vessel belong not to the foreign government, but to a private trader, the case is different. For no power can exercise such an effective controul over the actions of each of its subjects, as to prevent them from yielding to the temptations of gain, at a distance from its territory. No power can therefore be effectually responsible for the conduct of all its subjects on the high seas; and it has been found more convenient to entrust the party injured by such aggressions with the power of checking them. This arrangement seems beneficial to all parties; for it answers the chief end of the law of nations, —checking injustice without the necessity of war. Endless hostilities would result from any other arrangement. If a government were to be made responsible for each act of its subjects, and a negotiation were to ensue every time that a suspected neutral merchantman entered the enemy's port, either there must be a speedy end put to neutrality, or the affairs of the belligerent and neutral must both stand still. If the suspected vessel is a ship of war, no such inconvenience can follow from seeking redress by negotiation merely. A neutral has very few ships of war; if she has many, this is a circumstance of evidence against her, and a good ground of complaint. Not only is this remedy easy and safe to all parties, but it is the only remedy which is not exceedingly liable to abuse, and full of danger to the public peace of nations. No serious consequences are likely to arise from allowing men of war to search merchant ships; more especially if the right is confined to vessels of the state, and withheld from privateers. Nothing but hostility can result from allowing one ship of war to search another ship of war; because, if a national spirit is any where to be found, it is on board of such vessels. Moreover, the injury done to a private trader by searching, is insignificant, compared to the benefit secured to both nations by such a practice. But the injury done to a ship of war by searching, is both much greater in itself, from the insult to the honour of the crew, and bears a much greater proportion to any good which can be supposed to result from the practice, even on the highest estimate, because there are very few such vessels to search.

For

For these, or similar reasons, the right of searching private ships has been acknowledged by the law of nations; but no such right has ever been admitted by that law with respect to ships of war. The following details not only prove this point, but positively demonstrate, that the claim alluded to is repugnant to the law of nations.

The right of searching merchant ships has never been denied, except by a few very speculative men. But such a modification of it has been more than once proposed by different powers, as would almost have amounted to an extinction of it. In 1780 and in 1801, it was maintained that the presence of a ship of war protected from all search a fleet of merchantmen under its convoy. This position was founded upon the inviolability of the national flag, and upon the pledge of fair dealing on the part of the merchantman, which the presence of the convoying ship, and the word of its commander, afforded. This pretension of the neutral powers was carefully examined, chiefly by English civilians, who were unanimous against it, and displayed great learning in refuting it. They reasoned both on the general consequences of extending to merchantmen the protection of the convoying flag, and from the authority of the writers on public law. Not one of their general reasonings even alludes to any right of searching the convoy ship itself, although an argument of this nature would have cut the whole question short. Not one of their authorities makes any mention of such a kind of search, although a quotation of this nature would have been the best authority against the pretensions of the armed neutrality, at a time, too, when our jurists were in no small degree pressed for authorities, even to make out the right of searching ships under convoy*. See *Sir W. Scott's Judgment in the case of the Swedish Convoy—Dr Croke's Remarks on Mr Schlegel's work—Letters of Sulpicius—Lord Grenville's Speech on the Russian Treaty, (Nov.* 1801.*)—Vindication of the Russian Treaty.*

The treaty with Russia, in our humble opinion, very properly refused to acknowledge the pretensions of the armed neutrality. If there is anytruth in the reasons above stated for searching merchantmen not convoyed, it must be admitted, that the presence of the convoy ship, so far from being a sufficient pledge of their innocence, is rather a circumstance of suspicion. If a neutral

* It may further be remarked, that, in the course of the discussions arising from the armed neutrality, several authorities were produced, (certainly not very eminent ones) even in favour of the neutral pretension; but no one was found expressly against it. So little do the writers on this subject afford countenance to the doctrine of a still more extended right of search.

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tral nation fits out many ships of war, and escorts all its trading vessels with them, we have a right to conclude that she is deviating from her neutrality. If her trade has been exposed to injuries, redress might have been sought by negotiation; and certainly it would be incumbent on her to show, in the course of this negotiation, either that the old rule had been abused, or that some new one should be substituted in its place. The presence of the convoy gives scarcely any better security to the Belligerent, than the mere existence of the general law against contraband, while it exposes the neutrality of the parties to new risks of being destroyed. The article in the Russian Treaty which reserves the right of search, prescribes a visit to the convoy ship; but this is a concession to the neutral, to preclude, except in certain cases, any further search. In this visit, the papers relating to the merchant ships are the only subjects of inquiry. (See *Russian Treaty June* 1801, Art. IV.)

If we examine the authorities themselves, we shall find reason to be satisfied, that the learned persons who maintained the argument for the Belligerents, were guilty of no oversight in omitting to support their positions by asserting the right *now* claimed.

Wherever the right of search is mentioned, either by writers on the law of nations, or in treaties, *merchant ships* are expressly specified. For the most part, this description is repeated every time the thing is mentioned; but it is always given so often, as to leave no doubt whatever that it is understood, where by accident, or for the sake of brevity, it may have been omitted; or this is rendered equally clear, by the mention of *owners, subjects, &c.* See *Consolato del Mare*, cap. 273.--- *Treaty of Whitehall*, 1661, Art. 12.--*Treaty of Copenhagen*, 1670, Art. 20.--*Treaty of Breda*, 1667, Art. 19.---*Treaty of Utrecht*, 1713; Art. 24.; *of Commerce with France*, 1786, Art. 26. & *seqq.*---*Treaty with America*, 1795, Art. 17, 18, 19.; and all others where the right of search is mentioned.--- *Vattel. liv.* 3. *chap.* 7. § 113. & 114.---*Martens Essai concernant les armateurs, c.* 2. § 20.---*Hubner, de la saisie des Batiments Neutres*, Vol. I. part. 1. chap. 8. § 7.---*Whitelock's Mem.* p. 634.---*Molloy de Jure Mar.* Book. 1. chap. 5.

The pretension of visiting ships of war has never been brought forward, so far as we know, except accidentally in the two cases which shall presently be mentioned; and in these it was given up, before time had been allowed for discussing the subject. This is the reason why no direct authority can be found upon the point, in writers on the law of nations, and no stipulation respecting it in treaties. But all the general principles which are recognized, both by authors and negociators, most uniformly and positively exclude such a pretension.

It

It is unnecessary to prove, that the *territory* of an independent state is inviolable, and that no other state has a right to enter it without permission. Vattell lays down this principle as follows: 'Non seulement on ne doit point usurper le territoire d'autrui, il faut encore le respecter et s' abstenir de tout acte contraire aux droits du souverain; car *une nation etrangere ne peut s'y attribuer aucun droit*.'—'On ne peut donc, (he infers,) sans faire injure à l'etat entrer à main armée dans son territoire pour y poursuivre un coupable et l'enlever.'—*Liv. 2. chap. 7. § 93.*; see also § 64. & 79. All other writers, without exception, agree in this; and it is a common sitpulation in treaties of peace,—not that one party shall refrain from pursuing criminals into the territories of the other, for this would be superfluous,—nor that one party shall have the right to pursue criminals in the other's territory, for this never was granted in any one instance,—but that the parties shall themselves mutually give up the persons of certain criminals who may take refuge in their territories; both the contracting parties thereby admitting, that the state from which the criminal escapes has no other means whatever of recovering him, and that he is under the power of the state alone into whose territory he has fled.

That the same principle of inviolability applies fully to the ships of a nation, and that these floating citadels are as much a part of the territory as if they were castles on the dry land, is another position equally incontestable. In what particular, at all essential to the argument, do those vessels differ from forts? They are the public property; held by men in the public service, and under martial law. Moreover, the supreme power of the state resides in them; the sovereign is represented in them, and every thing done by them is done in his name. Accordingly, we find that those vessels of war are held by writers on public law to carry with them an extension of the territorial rights of the state. Vattell says expressly, that the territory of a nation comprehends every part of its just and lawful possessions; and he adds, 'Et par ses possessions il ne faut pas seulement entendre ses terres, mais tous les droits dont elle jouit.' (II. 7. § 80.) In another part of his work, indeed, speaking of the *status* of children born at sea, he lays it down, that if they are born in a vessel belonging to any country, 'ils peuvent être reputés nés dans le territoire; car il est naturel de considerer les vaisseaux dela nation comme des portions de son territoire, surtout quand ils voguent sur une mer libre, puisque l'etat conserve sa jurisdiction dans ces vaisseaux.'—*Liv. I. chap. 19. § 216.*) But, if this means any thing more, in so far as it applies to merchant ships, than that they are parts of the territory of the country,

country, to the effect of rendering the children born on board natives of the country, it is inconsistent with the admission made by Vattel in another chapter, that merchant ships may be searched,—unless, indeed, we are to admit, that although those vessels are parts of the territory, yet the general convenience of nations has established the right of violating them, for the reasons formerly stated. Vattel further lays it down, that children born at the army, or at the residence of an ambassador, are in the same predicament; 'car un citoyen absent pour le service de l'etat, et qui demeure dans sa dépendance et sous sa jurisdiction, ne peut être consideré comme etant sorti du territoire.'—*Ibid.* § 217.

But the authority of Grotius is, in every respect, better entitled to regard than that of the above-mentioned writer, whom, indeed, we have only quoted, because it is the custom to appeal to him on all occasions, and because he is exceedingly favourable to the claims of Belligerents. Grotius lays it clearly down, that sovereignty over a portion of the sea *(imperium in maris portionem)* may be acquired like other sovereignties, in two ways—'ratione personarum, et ratione territorii; ratione personarum, *ut si classis, qui maritimus est exercitus,* aliquo in loco maris se habeat; ratione, territorii, quatenus ex terra cogi possunt qui in proxima maris parte versantur, nec minus quam si in ipsâ terrâ reperirentur.'—*(De Jur. Bel. et Pac. Lib. II. cap.* 3. § 13.*)* Here, then, we find that the sea, upon which a ship of war lies, is as much under the dominion, and part of the territory of the nation to which that ship belongs, as the sea under the guns of one of its forts, or within gun-shot of its shores. 'The vessel,' says Grotius, 'occupies the sea for its sovereign, in the same manner as an army does the land on which it encamps.' If an Austrian army is marching through Prussian Poland to attack the French, and a Russian army encamps near it, on its march towards Turkey; should we not reckon it an act of direct hostility, were a detachment of the former to enter the camp of the latter forcibly, in order to search it for deserters? An English and American ship of war meeting on the sea, which is common to both, are exactly in this relative situation. *Classis maritimus est exercitus*—says Grotius. If the presence of the ship of war converts the neighbouring sea into national territory, much more is the ship itself to be viewed in that light.

There are several analogical cases in the law of nations, which add great weight to this doctrine, as applied to the inviolability of ships of war. It may be enough to mention the rights of ambassadors. The inviolability of their houses and persons has long been admitted in its fullest extent by all jurists, and by the practice of all civilized nations without exception. They cannot be arrested

arrested for crimes; nor can they, or their suite, be affected, either in their persons or goods for debts. They are not held to be within the jurisdiction of the country in which they reside; and all attempts to touch them, even by the modes which the law of the land prescribes, are offences against the law of nations.—*Vattell, liv. iv. chap.* 7. & 8.—*Grotius, De Jur. Bel. & Pac.* xviii. 4. 4.---See, too, the English stat. 7. Anne c. 12., which is only *declaratory* of the law of nations.---Now, there is no one reason for the inviolability of ambassadors, which does not apply to national ships. Whether we deduce that inviolability from respect due to the representative of a sovereign,---from the presumption that the sovereign never intended to submit his minister to a foreign jurisdiction,---from the necessity of entire independence to the transaction of the business committed to him,---or from the risk in which a contrary doctrine would involve the mutual good understanding of nations;---it is clear, that all these topics apply to the case of ships of war, and several of them with much greater force.

A consequence of peculiar absurdity, and repugnant to every principle which jurists have laid down, would follow from admitting the right of nations to search each other's ships. If the search of a neutral vessel leads to the discovery of contraband; or, if it is resisted, when it is the right of the belligerent vessel, ---then the former is detained, and brought into port for condemnation. But can it be maintained that a court of admiralty is to sit in judgment upon the mutual claims of sovereign states? The captor, indeed, may acknowledge its jurisdiction; but can a foreign and independent sovereign be required to do so? All jurists agree that there is no human court in which the disputes of nations can be tried; that every power is the sole judge of its own cause; and that, if aggrieved, it has but one remedy, viz. war. To prove this by quotations, would be endless.---In the case of private ships the law of nations is explicit. The prize courts of the captor's country judge, according to that law, the questions which arise between the parties; and it is a usual thing to declare, by express stipulation, that this jurisdiction shall be exercised. (See c. 9. Treaty of Paris, 1763. Art. 16. and of Versailles 1783, Art. 21. and Treaty of Com. 1786, Art. 32, 33, 34, & 35.) But no treaty ever alluded to such a jurisdiction over ships of war detained and brought into port. In the case of private ships, the jurisdiction thus constituted by the law of nations, and recognized by treaties, is an arrangement generally convenient, and called for by the right of search, upon which it is a necessary check. The total silence of all authorities and treaties respecting such a jurisdiction in the case of national ships, and

and its direct repugnance to the general principles laid down, without any such exception, by all writers, is the clearest proof that the right of search and detention is equally inapplicable to the case of national ships. If this right existed by the law of nations, the only conceivable mode of legally controuling its exercise would not be so entirely repugnant to the principles of that law.

But some thoughtless persons have maintained, that Great Britain has a right to search ships of war, in virtue of her naval supremacy; and they have attempted to connect this pretension with the old claim of sovereignty over the sea. We shall therefore briefly advert to that question.

The doctrine, that the sea may be appropriated by a people beyond the portion of it immediately adjoining to their territory, and commanded by that territory, has been denied by the bulk of authorities on the principles of the law of nations. Grotius scarcely admits more than the possibility of appropriating the waters immediately contiguous; though he adduces a number of quotations from ancient authors (after his usual manner) which show only, that such an idea, at some time, had entered somebody's head,—the common defect of his mode of treating a subject. For example, he quotes the passage where Virgil says of the Romans, 'Qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent,' and the complimentary verses of Oppian to the emperor, telling him that 'the sea rolled under his laws; '*De Jur. Bel. & Pac. II.* 3. § 8—13. But he never dreamt of any thing more than a limited portion being claimed; and he uniformly speaks of '*pars* or *portio*, maris,'--always confining his view to the effects of the neighbouring land in giving a sovereignty of this sort. Puffendorff lays it down, that in a narrow sea this dominion belongs to the sovereigns of the surrounding land, and regulates the distribution of it, where there are several such sovereigns, by the same rules which are applicable to neighbouring proprietors on a lake or river, supposing that no compact has been made in favour of one by the rest, as is pretended, he says, by Great Britain. But he expresses himself with a sort of indignation at the idea, that the main ocean can ever be appropriated. 'Nullus probabilis prætextus,' he says, 'adferri potest, quare unus aliquis populus in totum oceanum dominium velit pretendere, cum hoc effectû ut ceteros omnes a navigatione ejusdem velit arcere.' The whole passage is very eloquent, as well as judicious and satisfactory. (*De Jur. Nat. & Gent. Lib. IV. cap. 5.* § 7.) Selden devotes the first book of his celebrated treatise, to the proposition, that the sea may be made property; which he attempts to show, by collecting a multitude of quotations from ancient authors, in the style

style of Grotius, but with much less selection. For example, he quotes Julius Firmicus, who says, in his astrological work, 'that persons having, in the schemes of their nativity, the moon increasing in the 30th degree of Taurus, fortified with a friendly aspect of Jupiter, shall possess the dominion of sea and land whithersoever they lead an army.' (*De Mari Clauso, B. I. c.* 14.) He nowhere grapples with the arguments by which such a vague and extensive dominion is satisfactorily shown to be repugnant to the law of nations. And in the second part, which is indeed the main object of his work, he has recourse only to proofs of usage and of positive compact, in order to show that Great Britain has the sovereignty of what are called *the narrow seas.* In this part of his argument, he is more successful, and has had more followers. In truth, it does appear, that from her great maritime superiority over all neighbouring nations, Great Britain, from very remote ages, enjoyed a pre-eminence upon the seas surrounding her territory to a considerable distance; and this was naturally increased by her extensive possessions on the opposite shores. The most important documents brought to prove this, are the *Ordinance al Hastings* in the 2d of King John, and the Record of the dispute between Edward I. and Philip the Fair, in which deputies from several maritime states, themselves parties in the discussion, took the part of England, and admitted her claim.* (*Selden, B. II.* & *Molloy de Jur. Mar. B. I. c.* 5.) The claim comprehended, at the utmost extent in which England ever stated it, the sea from Cape Finisterre to Cape Stat in Norway. France never subscribed to it. When Holland, at the beginning of Cromwell's Protectorate, denied it for the first time, she was repeatedly defeated in the war which ensued, and was effectually humbled. The treaty, 1654, by a declaratory clause, fixed the utmost amount of this claim which Holland could be induced to admit. No mention is made of sovereignty even of the British sea, although Cromwell proposed that this should be generally stated; but the ceremony of striking the ensign, and lowering the topsail, is stipulated on the part of 'all Dutch ships of war, and others, which shall meet any British ship of war *in the British seas*—eo modo quo ullis retro temporibus sub quocumque anteriore regimine † unquam observatum fuit.' *Treaty*

* England and the other states were neutral in the war between France and Flanders which then subsisted, and which gave rise to the claims of all those states, except England. No decision was given by the arbiters who were named on both sides.

† This refers to the pretext on which the Dutch had refused the honour of the flag, viz. that the salute was a compliment to the king, and not due to the commonwealth.

of Peace and Alliance, 1654, *art.* 13.) The same article was, from this treaty, copied into the Treaty of Whitehall, 1662, art. 10.; and the treaty of Breda, 1667, art. 19.

When Charles II., being resolved to make war on the States-General in 1671, sought for pretexts, and had recourse to some of the most groundless complaints,—as, that a Dutch fleet of war, on the Dutch coast, had refused to strike to an English yacht, (which had been sent for the purpose of creating the dispute)—no further claim was ever thought of than this absurd interpretation of the right of salute. The treaty of Westminster, which put an end to that war, merely stipulated the honours of the flag in terms of the former treaties. (*Treaty of Westm.* 1674, *Art.* 6.) The Treaty of Marine, concluded at London the same year, determined that the *British seas* extended 'from Cape Finisterre to the land Van Staten in Norway.' (Art. 4.) These, with the intermediate treaties of 1678 (Defensive), 1689 (of Concert), and 1701 (of Alliance), as well as the treaties of Breda 1667, and the Commercial Treaty of 1668. (by which England first admitted to Holland the principle of 'free ships, free goods,' and *vice versa*, art. 9. 10. 11.), were all renewed by the treaty 1703, and formed the terms upon which the alliance between England and Holland subsisted, until the latter part of the American war. The treaty of Paris between England and Holland in 1784, contains a renewal of the stipulation respecting the flag, though in more general terms, placing this point 'upon the same footing on which it stood before the war' (Art. 2.) The Treaty of Amiens, 1802, contains no general renewal of former treaties, and no stipulation whatever touching the honours of the flag.

It is therefore manifest, that, in so far as the intercourse between England and Holland contains the evidences of this right of sovereignty over the sea, the following points are proved:—That the *British seas* never extended beyond Cape Finisterre, on the one hand, and Cape Stat on the other; that the claim never extended beyond the British seas; that it was admitted by the Dutch to have been well founded originally, and not to have been constituted by the treaty 1654; that it has never extended to any other right than that of the salute; and that even this right of salute was abandoned in 1802.

Some writers pretend, that the salute is only one consequence, or more properly an acknowledgement, of a general sovereignty; and enumerate other rights,—as of fishing, imposing customs on the navigation and fishing of foreign nations and prescribing laws to the navigation of nations living on the banks of the British sea. But the only instances of such rights ever being exercised are very ancient if not doubtful; if we except a tradition of Q. Elizabeth having

having prevented the French from building above a certain number of ships of war,—which is rather to be viewed as an exercise of power by means of threats, than an exercise of right, (*Molloy de Jure Mar.* I. 5.) At any rate, all such pretences have long been given up. As far back as 1604, the proclamation of James I. shows that the jurisdiction anciently claimed, was now confined to those bays called the *King's Chambers*, i. e. portions of the sea cut off by lines drawn from one promontory to another of our own island. (*Selden, II.* 22.) The claim of salute itself never was admitted by France; and Vattell expressly lays it down, that this is sufficient to disprove the existence of the right. (*Liv.* I. c. 23. § 289.) If the admission of it by other nations proves any thing, we must allow that the Venetians had the same right in the Adriatic, the French in the Mediterranean, and the Danes in the North Sea. The first has been repeatedly acknowledged both by the Turks, the Neapolitans, and the Spaniards. The honours of the flag were expressly admitted to France in the Mediterranean by the Dutch, in the Offensive and Defensive Treaty of 1635. And Selden himself, proves that Denmark has always possessed the sovereignty of the North Sea, Britain having only what the Civilians call a *servitude* on it. (II. 52.) It is unnecessary to add, that our right never was acknowledged by America, although we have had two treaties with her; and that, in whatever way either question may be decided, no two points can be more foreign to each other, than the right of search now claimed, and the ancient claim of naval supremacy.

We have said above, that there are only two instances, so far as we know, of the idea of searching ships of war having been entertained; and, in only one of these was the claim formally made. The history of both these cases, affords the strongest confirmation of the doctrine for which we have been contending.

The war of 1652, was the first rupture which had taken place between England and Holland, since the foundation of the republic. It arose entirely from maritime rivalship; and a refusal of the honours of the flag, was even the avowed justification of the first hostilities on the part of England. The Dutch were defeated in many great naval engagements; their fisheries were interrupted, their commerce nearly ruined, and they were willing to have peace on almost any terms. England demanded, in the 15th article of a treaty proposed to the States in 1653, that 'the salute of the flag should be stipulated, from all vessels, both 'of war and others, in the British seas, and that all vessels should likewise submit to be visited, if thereto required.' The former stipulation was acceded to, and made part of the treaty con-

cluded in 1654, (Art. 15.); the latter was peremptorily refused. No article respecting search was inserted; and in the subsequent Treaty of Commerce of London, 1674, the reciprocal right of search for contraband was stipulated, but confined to merchant ships, (Art. 5.) All that Cromwell could think of asking, then, after beating the Dutch to nearly entire submission, was a right to visit ships of war in the British seas. But, beaten as they were, the Dutch could not be brought to admit so monstrous a claim;—it was immediately given up, and never afterwards renewed.

Soon after the peace of 1654, a Dutch man of war convoying a fleet of merchant ships, was met by an English man of war in the Downs. The English searched the merchantmen; and the affair was discussed by the States under two heads,—the search of ships of war,—and the search of merchantmen; the former question appearing to have been suggested by the latter, and by the presence of the Dutch man of war. The result of their deliberations was a resolution, that 'the refusal to let merchantmen be searched could not be persisted in;' but respecting the other point, they came to the following determination: 'That 'in conformity with their High Mightinesses' instructions, taken 'in respect to the searching of ships of war, and especially those 'of Sept. 1627, Nov. 1648, and Dec. 1649, it is thought good, and 'resolved, that all captains, and other sea-officers, that are in the 'service of this State, or cruizing on commission, shall be *anew* 'strictly commanded, told, and charged, that they shall not con-'descend to no commands of any foreigners at sea, much less 'obey the same; neither shall they anyways permit that they 'be searched; nor deliver, nor suffer to be taken out of their 'ships, any *people* or other things.' Punishments are then threatened to such officers as yield on this point; but they are desired to give the customary salute to English men of war, according to treaty. (Thurloe, II. 503.) So peremptory a determination on the part of a nation but just escaped from the evils of a very ruinous and unequal war, is a sufficient proof of the light in which the point at issue was viewed. It deserves the more attention, when we consider that this had been one of the points argued in negociating the treaty of peace; and proves that the Dutch were as much resolved to resist any silent encroachment upon their rights, while in a state of alliance with their powerful neighbours, as they had been to prevent an open attack upon them at the formation of the treaty. Since that time the subject has never been broached,—England having completely acquiesced, even while most zealous for her maritime rights in the narrow seas, and most successful in maintaining them.

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It appears most evidently, then, that all the general principles upon which the mutual rights of nations are founded, are repugnant to the pretension of searching ships of war; that all authors, even those who maintain the right of search most largely, confine their positions to the case of merchant ships; that all the various treaties which stipulate the visitation of ships, allude to merchant ships exclusively; that though, from the entire novelty of the pretension, no express opinion of jurists, or stipulation of treaties, can be found upon the point, yet, a variety of principles leading directly to the denial of the claim, are laid down by all jurists without exception, and uniformly recognized in the intercourse of civilized states; that no one principle can be found, upon which to ground the claim, and, more particularly, that the old pretensions of Great Britain regarding the narrow seas, are quite foreign to the question; and that, in the only instance in which England ever attempted to advance the claim, she confined it to the narrow seas—tried to obtain the acknowledgement solely by positive stipulation—failed completely, although placed in circumstances peculiarly favourable to the attempt—and has never since, during a century and a half, renewed it. So that it would be difficult to conceive a pretension, against which the whole law of nations, as well as their practice, is more clearly and strongly opposed.

Now, the practice of searching ships of war for deserters, is one from which scarcely the smallest benefit could be derived, if exercised with the most unsparing vigilance. If the two or three ships of war in the American service were wholly manned with British deserters, we might lose a few hundred seamen. But even this is not a necessary loss; for an application to the Government of the United States would certainly procure a regulation among their officers for enforcing the surrender of the greater part of the deserters; and the difference between the number of men lost in spite of such regulations, and the number lost in spite of our own actual search, would amount to a mere trifle—certainly not to any thing like fifty men in a year. It must therefore be regarded as exceedingly fortunate for this country, that the claim of searching is found to be utterly untenable. Had it been sanctioned by the law of nations, there would have been some reason for maintaining it, even at a considerable risk. It would have been a national right, of an invidious nature towards a friendly power—of no sort of intrinsic value—the abandonment of which might look like giving up a point of honour—the exercise of which was worth nothing, and the assertion of which might lead to war. It should be matter of congratulation, that so useless a pretension is found to be an unjust one.

To wave it, can no longer be injurious to our dignity; to stickle for it, can alone hurt our honour; and one barren, unprofitable ground of dissension is thus removed from between two nations, mutually interested in remaining always friends.

We now come to the right claimed, of searching private vessels for deserters. Some of the principles which were incidentally explained in discussing the first point, seem sufficient for the decision of this also. It was proved that a merchant ship is, in every respect, differently situated from a ship of war; and that no reason can be offered, why it should not be subject to visitation, if suspected of carrying contraband. If a government pretends to be responsible for the conduct of each individual trader within its territory, we know that it is engaging to fulfil an impossible condition; and we are entitled to conclude, that it means to mock, or to deceive us. The method of searching seems the only way of preventing or detecting the unfair dealings of neutral merchants. When confined to national ships,* it unites a degree of security to the rights of the belligerent, with an attention to the convenience of the neutral, which no other contrivance could possibly secure. Now, there seems to be no good reason for excepting the case of deserters from this right. If the crew belonging to an English man of war, escape on board of American merchantmen, it is difficult to discover why they should not be pursued there, and brought back by their lawful commanders. It is preposterous to call each merchant ship a portion of the territory of the state, because the jurisdiction of the state extends to the persons on board of it. The same jurisdiction extends to the subjects of the state, though, by any accident they should be swimming at a distance from the vessel. An Englishman who should commit murder in this situation on the high seas, would be tried at the Admiralty sessions; and yet he was on no part of the English territory. An English vessel, too, in a foreign port, is held to be foreign territory. If, then, deserters are pursued into a merchant ship on the high seas, they are only pursued on common ground; and no violation of territory takes place, any more than if they were picked up swimming at sea in their attempt to escape.

We have already shown, that all the reasons, derived from mutual convenience, are in favour of giving the belligerents the remedy of search for contraband in neutral merchant vessels. The same reasons apply almost as clearly to a search for deserters. There is only one circumstance, indeed, which can be supposed to distinguish the two cases. It is not so easy to determine which

* This was done in the Russian treaty 1801; and Lord Grenville expressed his approbation in his celebrated speech upon that occasion.

which of the crew visited are deserters, and to seize them alone, as it is to determine that there are contraband goods, or hostile property on board, and to bring the vessel in for condemnation. The danger is certainly somewhat greater of our cruizers seizing American seamen instead of British, than of their stopping vessels laden with neutral or innocent cargoes, instead of vessels pursuing an illegal voyage. But though this may render the adjustment of the mode in which our right of search shall be exercised a little more nice, it does not amount to such a difficulty as will invalidate our title to use that remedy. Suppose the right of searching were strictly confined to national ships; that no seamen were liable to be impressed who could prove, by unsuspicious documents, his having been out of England a certain number of years in proportion to his age; that the master of the American vessel, upon affidavit, supported by two sureties residing in England, that an American born subject had been taken from his crew, should have a right to obtain his surrender, for the purpose of bringing an action against the English captain in a *court of common law*, where he might obtain exemplary damages: Suppose, further, that every American merchant vessel were declared seizable, of which above a certain proportion of the crew should be British subjects, who had left their country within a certain period of their lives, and that the cruizers visiting had the option, in all cases, either of seizing the men, or of suing the master and two English sureties in an English *court of common law*, for penalty upon a bond entered into once every year, and always kept among the ship's papers, obliging him not to sail with any British seamen as above described;---it appears that sufficient checks would be imposed both upon the English cruizers and the American traders. The owners of the ships would find sureties among their mercantile correspondents in England, and would be forced to use some circumspection in hiring their crews. They would probably be satisfied with the power of applying for redress to an English court of common law, greatly as they are inclined to distrust our prize tribunals; and indeed, were the present fears of the abuse of the right of search realized, a single verdict obtained against a captain in the navy for impressing an American, would have the full effect of checking the evil. Some such method as we have sketched, of loading both parties with a considerable risk in the conduct of the business--of making each act at his peril--might be arranged without much difficulty, and check the desertion of our seamen, while it secured the American traders from vexatious detention.

We have now been stating the right of search, and the mode of exercising it, as high as possible; that is to say, the right, as

fully as we conceive it to exist, and such a mode of enforcing it as would be requisite, if the importance of the object to be gained were very considerable. We cannot help thinking, however, that this is in general a good deal overrated by those who discuss the question. The demand which our extensive commerce affords for seamen, must always produce a supply in some degree proportioned to it; and the blanks occasioned in their numbers by manning the navy during war, in so far as they cannot be filled up by the hands which that war throws out of employment, will operate as an increase in the total demand. To this augmented demand the supply of seamen will constantly tend to accommodate itself. The temptations held out by the American trade, if our seamen are allowed to engage in it, must operate as a still further increase of the demand, and a bounty upon the supply of seamen. Instead of breeding seamen, as it were, for our own commerce only, we should breed them for the whole commerce of England and America. We should therefore be much better supplied with them, than if we bred them only for ourselves,--as a country is sure of having more corn for home consumption, the more it grows for exportation. This consideration deserves to be weighed against the inconveniencies which we no doubt suffer during war, from the constant desertion occasioned by the peculiar advantages of the American service, and the sudden and extraordinary drain of seamen from our mercantile navy, especially at the commencement of hostilities*. These evils, though serious, are much diminished by this view of the case; and it should be recollected, that the greater part of the emigrants or deserters who went over during war, return at the peace; that this augments our whole numbers of seamen while peace lasts; that, consequently, an increased degree of vigilance in the impress service, at the commencement of a new war, may still further diminish the evil. Such being the real amount of the detriment occasioned by a total abandonment of our right of search for seamen, it may possibly be admitted that we should, in prudence, abstain from the most rigorous possible enforcement of the right. The right is ours, clearly and in the fullest extent. The American government is too sensible, not to perceive this; we trust it is too faithful to its highest duties, not to admit so incontestable a proposition. But if it should have any invincible objection against our exercising our undoubted rights, and obtaining the redress which

* We need scarcely remark, that the whole of the reasoning applies to seamen who leave our merchant service, as well as deserters from our fleets: the right of our government is exactly the same to seize both, wherever it can find them, without violating a foreign territory.

which is our due by the arrangement above pointed out, it must devise some other remedy which shall appear likely to be efficacious. In consideration of the evil not being extreme, it would surely be prudent for this country to make a fair trial of such a remedy as shall be proposed, and to adopt it in place of the rigorous search, though it might prove somewhat less effectual. But we venture to predict that the trial will entirely fail; that nothing short of the search above described will nearly answer the end proposed; that the failure of the experiment will convince the American government itself; and that, by delaying to insist on our undoubted rights, we shall obtain a peaceable and full recognition of them in the final adoption of some arrangement similar to the one already pointed out.

It is greatly to be feared, however, that, highly as the importance of the claims just now examined has been extolled in this country, they are rather the pretences, than the true reasons for desiring a rupture with America. In consequence of the long and successful war carried on by England against almost all the other maritime powers, a great portion of their commerce, and a share also of our own, has passed into the hands of the Americans. A certain class of politicians, therefore, regard them at once as rivals in trade, and as interfering with the course of our hostilities, and are anxious, not only to deprive them of all the benefit which they derive from our constant wars, but to injure them nearly as much as the enemy. The principle of these reasoners is, that the enemy shall trade with nobody, and the neutrals only with ourselves. We have already had an opportunity of discussing the principle of the rule of the war 1756; * and we shall, at present, only advert shortly to the nature of that claim, for the purpose of adding a few remarks to those which we formerly offered.

It is contended, that England has a right to prohibit the neutrals from carrying on any trade during war, which was not open to them during peace. But why should not the same rule extend to a trade of which the neutrals, though permitted by law, did in fact not partake before the war? It is owing to our hostilities, that the Americans carry wine from Bourdeaux to Amsterdam; they came into this traffic, in order to shelter the French and Dutch traders from our cruizers; we have as good a right to prohibit it, as to stop their trade in sugar and coffee. In like manner, the French used to import American produce in their own vessels; now they only receive it in American ships: Instead of a part, therefore, the Americans have the whole of this trade,

* No. XV.

trade,) and England has a right to confine them to their former share of it; but as this is utterly impossible, without stopping it altogether, she may exercise her belligerent rights in the only way practicable, and cut off the Americans from all intercourse whatever with her enemies. This is exactly what the French government has threatened us with; and it must be admitted to follow clearly, from the principles of the rule of the war 1756. Accordingly, some politicians recommend it to England. Now, let us see what follows. We are desired to cut off all intercourse between America and our enemies;—this will no doubt injure our enemies, but it will hurt America still more. For we are unfortunately at war with about ten different nations, each of whom will thus lose its American trade: but America will lose its trade with each of them; and will suffer, perhaps, ten times as much as any of them. * Being at war with almost the whole world ourselves, we shall, in revenge, monopolize the whole trade of a neutral and friendly power, and indemnify ourselves at its expense. But shall we, in fact, be benefiting ourselves by so singular a conduct? We may call it monopolizing the trade of America, but in truth, it is equally giving her the monopoly of our own trade,—it is confining the Americans to intercourse with ourselves, and ourselves to intercourse with them; for, the keenest advocates of the rule 1756 admit, explicitly, that we have not a shadow of right to partake, under any pretexts, in a trade which we shut against the neutrals. † If, then, we cannot cut off our enemy's commerce, without injuring the Americans a great deal more, so neither can we injure the Americans, without hurting ourselves equally; and such, in a few words, is the benefit to be derived from the complete assertion of our pretended right towards neutrals.

The progress of the demands which have been made by the assertors

* The learned and ingenious author of '*War in Disguise*,' (p. 37. 5th Edit.) treats with some contempt the assertion, that neutrals suffer hardship in not being allowed to supply themselves with colonial produce in the enemy's islands during war; a hardship, he observes, which they suffer equally during peace. But, surely, if one belligerent interdicts all colony trade except her own, the neutrals, instead of having the market for produce open in all the mother countries, are confined to the market of that one belligerent. If America is prevented from buying French produce, and our market cannot supply her, she suffers as much as France does by the prohibition. And even if she can get a supply from us, she suffers a much greater restriction in her trade than if she were still an English colony.

† See 'War in Disguise,' and the 'Introduction to Mr Randolph's Speech.'

assertors of these rights, is exceedingly instructive as to their real views. The transport of produce from the enemy's colonies to the n other country direct, in neutral vessels, is first required to be stopt. The neutral trader then carries it to his own ports, and from thence to the enemy's. We are required to consider this as one voyage, and an evasion of the first prohibition. A second prohibition is therefore demanded :—the produce must be fairly landed, and pay duties; and it must not be re-exported in the same vessel which brought it. Under all these restrictions, however, the neutral can afford to continue the trade; and the produce still finds its way to the enemy, though at very advanced prices. We are now desired, therefore, to enforce the rule of the war 1756, and to prevent the produce from entering our enemy's ports, at all, in neutral bottoms, because, in time of peace, that commerce was interdicted by him. Suppose we again comply, and that the neutrals yield—they will carry the produce to some neutral European port, from which it may find its way to the market; that is, to our enemies. A new demand is therefore necessary. We are required absolutely to prohibit all traffic in colonial produce which came originally from an enemy's colony. Even this would be evaded; for how is such produce to be distinguished from the very produce sold by ourselves to those neutrals, according to the strict letter of our own navigation law? We must, therefore, interdict absolutely all carriage of colonial produce in any vessels not being British. But this, though sufficient to outrage all public law, would still be inadequate to prevent smuggling, so long as any traffic remained between our enemies and the neutrals. There is but one other step to take, therefore. We must go to war with the neutrals, and put their ships upon the same footing with those of our enemy, whose places in trade they are now filling. By this chain it is that we are driven on from prohibition to prohibition, till we find that the prohibition of neutrality itself is our only remedy; and that we can only trust to the vigilance of our cruizers for the security of our colonial monopoly, and the interruption of our enemy's trade. The case is therefore short and plain. If all nations will not go to war with France when we choose to do so, we must go to war with them also. There is no other way of vexing our enemy, and protecting our mercantile profits.

Now, putting the morality of this doctrine entirely out of the question,—endeavouring to forget the old maxims of public law, in the eye of which *neutrality* is held to be a favourable object,—allowing that the present war is of a peculiar nature, and of a paramount importance (as indeed all wars are)—and that the rules which apply to other wars do not apply to so great a contest

test (though this has been regularly said of every one war from the time that men began to fight, and fully as often said of the most trifling as of the greatest disputes between nations,)—let us simply ask ourselves, whether the destruction of all neutrality is likely to be so very great a gain to the most commercial and manufacturing nation in the world? With whom should we trade, if we went to war with America? Our foreign trade would be confined to Sicily and Sweden, and perhaps it might extend to Zealand. But a great contraband would enable us, through these channels, and by other more direct means, still to supply the enemy and the countries subject to him; that is to say, we should be compelled, by the approach of utter ruin, to relax our own hostilities, and to trade ourselves with the enemy. But in what way? If we send ships to his ports he will seize them; —then we must allow his ships to come to our ports, or to the ports of our allies and dependants. Is not this encouraging, not merely a foreign trade, but an enemy's trade and shipping? Is it not assisting France, for fear that America should help her? Is it not transferring the neutral privileges from our friends to our enemies? But can any body doubt, that the conversion of our whole foreign trade into contraband would greatly diminish the amount of it? Our enemies would indeed pay a little dearer, and consume a great deal less, of both their own colonial produce and our goods; but the loss would be reciprocal; and while the whole amount of it would be divided among all our enemies, we should ourselves lose upon our intercourse with each of them. The neutrals would no longer carry for us to France, Spain, and Holland, for example; nor to Germany and Russia. All those countries would therefore lose, arrange it how we please, part of their trade with us, and suffer each so much by the loss; while we should lose about as much with each of them, and many times more than France could lose.

It might be expected, that such obvious considerations would render all attempts against America fruitless in this country; and incline us rather to wave some rights which we possess, than insist upon claims founded in manifest injustice. But there are certain bodies of traders, who conceive that their interests are opposite to those of the country, and seem desirous of pursuing some imaginary advantages at all risks. The depreciation of West India produce, to whatever cause it may be owing, has brought a large and highly respectable class of men into a situation of unexampled difficulty. The interruption of all trade with the enemy's colonies, they consider as the sure means of raising the price of their own goods. Reduced nearly to a state of despair, they conceive that no change can be for the worse, and in their

their eagerness to make some effort to save themselves, overlook the risk which they incur of hastening their destruction. We shall, in a subsequent article, produce very satisfactory proof, that the deplorable state of the West Indies is owing to an excessive cultivation of sugar all over the colonies. While the whole or the greater part of this reaches the market of Europe, there will be a glut, and the price will continue extremely low. No measures which our maritime superiority enables us to pursue, can prevent a considérable portion of this produce from finding its way over. Another portion will be captured by our cruizers in its attempt to reach the forbidden market, and will, of course, come into our own market. In the mean time, the enemy will be enforcing *his* prohibitions with a rigour not likely to be diminished by our blockade of his islands; he will certainly obstruct the importation of our produce into the continental market, and assist the present tendency of the people in many parts of Europe to lessen their consumption of such articles. But, while the prices are thus prevented from rising so high as the West India body expects, the cost of raising the produce will be greatly increased. A war with America must not only raise the price of lumber and provisions, but increase incalculably the charges of freight and insurance. Let us only reflect, that, during the last American war, (long may it be called the last!) West India *premiums* rose from five to twenty-three guineas *per cent.*; that the underwriters were notwithstanding ruined; that in the two first years of the contest, the Americans captured 733 of our ships;—and we shall be convinced, that the inconsiderable rise in the price of sugar, which is all the planters can expect, will be much more than counterbalanced by the increased expense of making and transporting it. But we are told, that such a blockade of the enemy's colonies must be enforced, as shall compel their planters to abandon the cultivation of the staple articles. This is utterly impossible, unless we pursue a mode of warfare too horrible to be described. For if our blockade succeeds so as to starve the islands, they will surrender—and by what law of war can we refuse to receive them? No one ever pretended that war gives a belligerent the right to do more than take possession of a subdued enemy; and surely the planters do not mean to insist that we should force all the foreign colonies into a state of universal anarchy, like that of St Domingo, in order to raise the price of the sugars in Jamaica and Barbadoes?

A variety of more general reasonings might be offered to show that the planters cannot expect to benefit by any system tending to increase the difficulties under which the rest of the community at present labour. A diminution of the national income is likely to affect,

affect, in the first instance, those who raise articles of mere superfluity: Bankruptcies, and other great misfortunes in the commercial world, must injure those most of all who chiefly trade upon borrowed capital: The same class of men is sure to feel most seriously the draining of the money market, which always attends an augmented scale of public expenditure.—But without entering into these considerations, we believe enough has been said to show, that the immediate interests of the West India body are likely to suffer as much as those of the country at large, by the adoption of the rash counsels which they have lately been pressing upon the government.

The inference which is suggested by the dry and tedious discussion now brought to a close, is, that there are no points at present in dispute between England and America, so important in themselves as to justify a war. The claim of searching ships of war must, both in justice and in prudence, be abandoned;—it is at once unfounded and unprofitable. The right of searching merchant ships is clearly ours; it is of some value, and should be insisted upon in the manner formerly pointed out. It is neither our right nor our interest to destroy the American carrying trade; and, in our endeavours to limit the benefit which our enemies derive from it, we should be satisfied with such regulations as may increase the obstacles already thrown in the way of fraudulent transactions, and perhaps augment the expences of the circuitous voyage.

The doctrines we have now delivered, will not, we are much afraid, be very popular at this moment among the greater part of our readers; but, if they are substantially right, we have no doubt of their being ultimately adopted. The cry for the vigorous assertion of our naval rights, is partly founded in mere popular clamour, and partly in very rash and erroneous views of policy. Hostility with America can only be justified upon the principle of hostility with all neutrals; and this, we have attempted to show, leads, evidently, not to the increase of our trade, but to the suppression of all legal trade whatsoever, and the creation of a vast contraband, by which the enemy would profit at least as much as the power that produced it. We love our country, and are proud of its glory, and jealous of its privileges and customs. We feel intimately persuaded, that, while England remains unconquered, she is happy beyond all other nations, be her rulers as weak or as wicked as they may. But it is precisely because these are our feelings, that we wish to see no new rights asserted, and no new wrongs laid to our charge; and that we look with regret and aversion to the probable alienation of the only independent state with which we are still in amity.

ART.

ART. II. *Specimens of the Later English Poets, with Preliminary Notices.* By Robert Southey, 3 vol. 8vo. London. Longman & Co. 1807.

WE opened with considerable curiosity a work, entitled *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, bearing the name of an editor so conspicuous for the singularity of his tenets in matters of poetical taste. Unable, however, to coincide with the editor in comprehending the distinct object of the publication, we have closed his volumes with the disappointment of perceiving, that nine tenths of his poets so denominated, have no visible title to such a name; and that, in almost every instance, his selections from the real tribe of Parnassus, are specimens of their secondary, if not of their worst compositions.

The work professes to form a worthy sequel to Mr Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets. Mr Ellis ends with the reign of Charles II.; this begins with that of James II. The work of Ellis is valuable on two considerations; it contains abundance of good poetry, and it is a cabinet of antiquarian curiosities. But, in the tomes before our eye, Mr Southey seems to produce his specimens with no satisfaction to himself. The prefatory notices are generally, though not undeservedly, expressive of contempt for the miserable bard of whom he tosses us a morsel. Nor is this all: the former and the future reader seem to be sneered at, from the implied conjecture, that, as this has pleased so many fools foregoing, it may probably impose on as many admirers in time to come. What value Mr Southey's specimens may contract by the rust of antiquity, or possess an hundred and fifty years from the present time, it is not for hoary headed reviewers to hope that they shall live to behold. Certain it is, that the editor seems to plume himself on the anticipation, that an *extrinsic* value of this kind will one day be attached to his Specimens, though composed for the most part of indifferent versification.

'Many worthless versifiers,' says Mr Southey, 'are admitted among the English Poets, by the courtesy of criticism, which seems to conceive that charity towards the dead may cover the multitude of its offences against the living. There were other reasons for admitting here the reprobate as well as the elect. My business was to collect specimens as for a *hortus siccus*, not to cull flowers as for an anthology. I wished, indeed, as Mr Ellis has done, to exhibit specimens of every writer whose verses appear in a substantive form, and find their place on the shelves of the collector. The taste of the public may be better estimated from indifferent poets than from good ones. Cleveland and Cowley, who

who were both more popular than Milton, characterize their age more truly. Fame, indeed, is of slow growth. Like the Hebrew language, it has no present tense. Popularity has no future one.'*

It seems to be here directly announced, that the object of this compilation is not to collect a body of valuable poetry, but to afford a key to posterity to judge of the prevailing poetical taste of the British public, from the reign of the Second James to the latter years of our present sovereign George III. Now the present publication, we conceive, with the help of a few others, such as the entire works of Dryden, Thomson, Pope, Akenside, Gray, Cowper, Collins, &c. &c., will enable posterity to guess pretty clearly, that some tolerable verses have been written from the date of the British to that of the French revolution. But we really think, that, by itself, it would scarcely warrant such a conclusion; for so little of the genuine poetry of that interval has been given; that we cannot calculate, without remorse, the vast expense to which the gentle reader of the twentieth century will be put, (in addition to the probably advanced price of Mr Southey's collection), before he can imbue his mind with

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* We quote the last sentence of this paragraph, less for the sake of noticing its grammatical solecism, which gives Fame and Popularity, two honest substantives, the tenses of a verb; than for remarking the affected disdain of contemporary opinion which it conveys. To say that popularity has no future tense, which if it means any thing, implies that it cannot protract its existence, is treating an inoffensive word with too much contumely. Shakespeare was popular in his own day, and *will* be popular, we venture to say, in spite of this new rule about the future. The assertion that Cowley was more popular in his day than Milton, we do not believe, in the more respectable sense of the word. If popularity mean the opinion of women and children, or the lower class of readers, the novels of the circulating library are at this day more popular than Paradise Lost. But, among good judges, Milton was early and classically worshipped. He was early translated into foreign languages,—which Cowley, we believe, never was. At all events, the popularity of Cowley is to be regarded rather as an exception to the rule—that demerit will not be overrated in its own day, than a confirmation of the contrary. Cleveland was never so popular as Milton in his own day, or in any other. The supposed neglect of Milton among his contemporaries has been greatly exaggerated. Neither the silence of Dryden, nor the political malignity of Winstanly, prove that the seventeenth century was not deeply sensible of his excellence, any more than Voltaire's laughing at Paradise Lost in the eighteenth century, proves his being contemned by the moderns.

with the best specimens of the modern muse. If he seek for the beauties of Otway*, he will be forced to draw his purse for a copy

*The Specimens begin with the following Ode of Otway.

THE POET'S COMPLAINT OF HIS MUSE.

* * * * * * * *

'I am a wretch of honest race,
My parents not obscure, nor high in titles were:
They left me heir to no disgrace.
My father was (a thing now rare)
Loyal and brave, my mother chaste and fair.
The pledge of marriage vows was only I;
Alone I lived their much-loved fondled boy.
They gave me generous education; high
They strove to raise my mind, and with it grew their joy.
The sages that instructed me in arts
And knowledge oft would praise my parts,
And cheer my parents' longing hearts.
When I was called to a dispute,
My fellow pupils oft stood mute;
Yet never envy did disjoin
Their hearts from me, or pride distemper mine.
But, oh! a deadly portion came at last!
As I lay loosely on my bed,
A thousand pleasant thoughts triumphing in my head,
A voice—it seem'd no more—so busy I
Was with myself, I saw not who was nigh—
Pierc'd through my ears—Arise, thy good Lenander's dead!
It shook my brain, and from their feast my frighted senses fled.

'From thence sad discontent, uneasy fears,
And anxious doubts of what I had to do,
Grew with succeeding years.
The world was wide—but whither should I go?
To Britain's great Metropolis I hied,
Where fortune's general game is play'd,
Where honesty and wit are often praised,
But fools and knaves are fortunate and raised.
My forward spirit prompted me to find
A converse equal to my mind;
And, by raw judgment easily misled,
As giddy callow boys
Are very fond of toys,
I miss'd the brave and wise, and, in their stead,
On every sort of vanity I fed;—
Gay coxcombs, cowards, knaves, and prating fools,

copy of the Orphan, or of Venice Preserved, before he can admit that that unhappy genius had any title to die the poetical death of hunger; for Mr Southey's book will only treat him to one of the wretchedest copies of verses that ever was written by a lord or an alderman. If he languishes for a sight of Dryden's commanding graces, he must seek for them somewhere else than in the Specimens of Mr Southey. He will only find in that collection, a paraphrase of some monkish Latin, and a couple of epilogues, which will not throw him into raptures. He may have heard of Thomson's enchanting Castle of Indolence; but again he must be put to the extra charge of purchasing the work, or groping for his beauties in the Elegant Extracts.

From the words of the preface which we have already quoted, it will still, however, be an obvious apology of the editor, that, without including the best specimens of our best poets, the object of the publication will still be served, if posterity are enabled to judge of the taste of their predecessors, by the reprobate herd, as well as the elect few, of the writers in verse whom he has *specimenized.* '*If,*' as Mr Southey says, '*the taste of the public may be better estimated from indifferent than from good poets,*' a Whitehead or a Spratt may do as well for such selections, as a Dryden

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Bullies of o'ergrown bulks and little souls—
Gamesters, half wits and spendthrifts, such as think
Mischievous midnight frolics, bred by drink,
Are gallantry and wit,
Because to their lewd understandings fit—
Were those wherewith two years at least I spent,
To all their fulsome follies most incorrigibly bent;
Till, at the last, myself more to abuse,
I grew in love with a deceitful muse—
* * * * * * * *
But in this most transporting height
I look'd around, and found myself alone.
* * * * * * * *
I tried if I a verse could frame;
The more I strove the more I fail'd—
I chafed—I bit my' pen, curst my dull skull, and rail'd,
Resolv'd to force my' untoward thought, and at the last prevail'd.
A line came forth, but such a one,
No travelling matron, in her childbirth pains,
Was more astonish'd at the unlook'd for shape
Of some deformed baboon or ape—
I tore my paper, slabb'd my pen,
And swore I'd never write again.'—
Ohe! Jam satis.

Dryden or a Thomson. But we have no hesitation to enter our protest against such an assertion. The taste of no age is to be deduced from the mere existence of a swarm of scribblers. Their existence may arise from the want of brighter geniuses to eclipse them, or they may be scintillations struck off from superior luminaries, like the train which follows the comet. If such petty sparks of literature fly up in the dark during a particular era, they may indeed prove the want of genius, but not the want of taste, in the age which tolerates them. But they receive, it may be said, encouragement and admiration. If Mr Southey had given us decisive evidence that one tenth part of the herd of indifferent poets, whom he seems himself so duly to contemn, had been favourites with the public, we should excuse their being registered as evidence against the taste of the age. But no such proofs are adduced. They wrote and published; and the public is neither to be praised nor blamed for their so doing.

We are perfectly aware how difficult it may be for the compiler of specimens, such as these before us, to fix the exact line of discrimination between admissible and inadmissible poets. In a work professing to give specimens of a long succession of poets, many indifferent specimens must necessarily enter. Our objection is not at finding some indifferent poetry, but at finding too much of it; and by far too little of what may guide the future reader, for whom it is professedly written, to form *a fair* estimate of the poetry written for an hundred and fifty years past. If, to ascertain the changes and appearances of British taste at different periods, it was necessary to rake together such trash as the works of Græme, Baker, Iliffernan, Kenrick, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. we think it was incumbent on the editor to have given us nothing less than a graduated scale of the estimation that was attached to each of their works, to let us see how high or how low above zero they severally stood in the public opinion. Assuredly their works are, for their *own* sake, neither worth printing nor reading; but if they served to illustrate so curious a fact as the state of the public taste at this or that period, their value might be extrinsically increased. Here, however, a difficulty occurs: we know that they printed their works, for the printed books are before us; but we know not the exact reception they received from the reading public. It would be very unfair, all our readers will allow, to estimate their popularity by peeping into reviews. What, then, are we to know of the state of public taste from such a farrago;—or what useful purpose, under heaven, is accomplished, by preserving specimens of these verse-tackers? To think of serving the cause of taste by the preservation of insipidities and deformities, is like promoting the

study of sculpture, by collecting the bottled fragments of flesh, and the injected preparations of anatomy.

If the curious reader should be distressed to know the state of public taste in his father's, or his grandfather's time, he had assuredly better trust to the good than the bad poets of the age, for a cue to his researches. A few instances of neglected merit, no doubt, will occur; but if he wishes to know the taste of the period of Pope, let him read Pope, not Betterton; of the period of Thomson, let him read Thomson, not Mitchell. The existence of men of genius, such as Pope, Thomson, and Gray, proves something definite and certain; it proves that there was genius in the eighteenth century, and taste to feel and revere it. The existence of half an hundred scribblers proves nothing at all.

The nominal English poets have been extended in number beyond all toleration, by the ignorance, the bad taste, or the avarice of those who have edited their works for profit. To those who have been unworthily introduced, Mr Southey, though far removed above such motives, has added some very insignificant names. We recollect, however, his previous apology, that he wished to exhibit specimens of every writer, whose verses have appeared in a substantive form, and find their place upon the shelves of the collector. This was to accomplish his scheme of a *hortus siccus*. But if every writer, good, bad, and indifferent, was to be haled into his system of dry gardening, we wonder that the list was so narrow. Many valuable bad versifiers, we are sure, have been defrauded of their place in this collection. It is quite impossible, that, since the age of James the Second, only 223 poets, of all descriptions, have published their works. We think, with tolerable industry, as many thousand might have been strung together; and the reader, instead of three, might have had the inestimable satisfaction of perusing thirty volumes of evidences of the bad taste of his forefathers.

By the guarded title of 'Later English Poets,' Mr Southey seems not to consider himself bound to give us specimens of the last; yet he has included Cowper, one of the very latest deceased of our good poets. From such an extension of his boundaries, we should have expected Beattie and Anstey (Author of the New Bath Guide) to have been admitted also. We regret also, that his industry has not been directed to discover some of the floating fugitive pieces of a man whose genius as a poet was still superior to his powers as a critic, Stephens, the colleague of Johnson in his edition of Shakespeare. It is true, the poems of Stephens were never put into a substantive or collective form; but the cause of good taste requires that his name should not be forgotten. A poem of this man, purporting to be written to his mistress

mistress on her marriage with a fortunate rival, possesses the very nerve and soul of nature and passion. It is probably so well known to many lovers of poetry, that we forbear to transcribe it. Another of his love-songs, concluding with the following stanza,

> 'And when with envy Time transported,
> Shall think to rob us of our joys,
> You'll in your girls again be courted,
> And I'll go wooing in my boys.'—

has so much simplicity and merit, as to make us regret it should be omitted in any compilation of English poetry.

In his specimens of the better sort of poets, the editor has frequently selected their worst pieces; either from inadvertency, or from an idea, which we conceive to be erroneous, that because something they have written is already known and popular, it would be impertinent to introduce it in the present volume. To one of those causes we must attribute his presenting us with some indifferent pieces of Langhorne, instead of his beautiful story of Owen of Carron, which has, and has alone, made him acceptable to the bulk of judicious readers.

Among the new names of poets, introduced by this selection, there is one which poetry will be proud of admitting into the number of her votaries even with inferior pretensions. This is Sir William Blackstone. After so freely animadverting on what appear to us the blemishes of this collection, it affords us pleasure to thank Mr Southey for having presented the public with a copy of verses by that ornament of his country; whose poetical vein, we believe, is a fact hitherto little known, and whose verses, though not of the highest cast of poetry, are tolerably correct, and expressive of an amiable mind.

> 'THE LAWYER'S FAREWELL TO HIS MUSE.
>
> 'As by some tyrant's stern command,
> A wretch forsakes his native land,
> In foreign climes condemn'd to roam,
> An endless exile from his home.
> Pensive he treads the destined way,
> Till on some neighbouring mountain's brow
> He stops, and turns his eyes below,
> There, melting at the well-known view,
> Drops a last tear, and bids adieu';
> So I, from thee thus doom'd to part,
> Gay Queen of Fancy and of Art,
> Reluctant move with doubtful mind
> Oft stop, and often look behind.
>
> 'Companion of my tender age,
> Serenely gay and sweetly sage,

'How blythesome were we wont to rove
By verdant hill or shady grove,
Where fervent bees, with humming voice,
Around the honied oak rejoice,
And aged elms, with awful bend,
In long cathedral walks extend:
Lull'd by the lapse of gliding floods,
Cheer'd by the warbling of the woods,
How blest my days, my thoughts how free,
In sweet society with thee!
Then all was joyous, all was young,
And years unheeded roll'd along.

'But now the pleasing dream is o'er,
These scenes must charm me now no more.
Lost to the fields, and torn from you,
Farewell, a long—a last adieu!
Me wrangling courts and stubborn law
To smoke and crowds and cities draw.
There selfish faction rules the day,
And pride and avarice throng the way;
Diseases taint the murky air,
And midnight conflagrations glare;
Loose revelry and riot bold
In frighted streets their orgies hold;
Or where in silence all is drown'd,
Fell murder walks his nightly round.
No room for peace—no room for you—
Adieu, celestial Nymph! adieu.

'Shakespeare, no more thy sylvan son,
Nor all the art of Addison,
Pope's heav'n-strung lyre, nor Waller's ease,
Nor Milton's mighty self must please.
Instead of these, a formal band
With furs and coifs around me stand,
With sounds uncouth and accents dry
That grate the soul of harmony.
Each pedant sage unlocks his store
Of mystic, dark, discordant lore,
And points with tottering hand the ways
That lead me to the thorny maze.

'There, in a winding close retreat,
Is Justice doom'd to fix her seat;
There, fenc'd by bulwarks of the law,
She keeps the wondering world in awe;
And there, from vulgar sight retired,
Like Eastern queens is more admired.

'O

'O let me pierce the secret shade,
Where dwells the venerable maid,
There humbly mark, with reverend awe,
The guardian of Britannia's law;
Unfold with joy her sacred page,
Th' united boast of many an age;
Where mix'd, yet uniform, appears
The wisdom of a thousand years;
In that pure spring the bottom view,
Clear, deep, and regularly true;
And other doctrine thence imbibe,
Than lurk within the sordid tribe;
Observe how parts with parts unite
In one harmonious rule of right;
See countless wheels distinctly tend,
By various laws to one great end,
While mighty Alfred's piercing soul
Pervades and regulates the whole.

'Then, welcome business—welcome strife,
Welcome the cares—the thorns of life,
The visage wan—the pore-blind sight,
The toil by day—the lamp at night,
The tedious forms—the solemn prate,
The pert dispute—the dull debate,
The drowsy bench—the babbling hall:
For thee, fair Justice, welcome all.
Thus let my noon of life be past;
Yet let my setting sun at last,
Find out the still, the rural cell,
Where sage retirement loves to dwell.
There let me taste the homefelt bliss
Of innocence and inward peace;
Untainted by the guilty bribe—
Uncurs'd amid the harpy tribe—
No orphans cry to wound my ear,
My honour and my conscience clear.
Thus I calmly meet my end,
Thus to the grave in peace descend!'

Among the few pieces which are new to the public, we consider the following sonnet of J. Bamfylde entitled to notice; and regret that a poet, seemingly endowed with no small portion of feeling and elegance, should not have been known to the public by more numerous works.

'Cold is the senseless heart that never strove
With the mild tumult of a real flame,
Rugged the breast that beauty cannot tame,

Nor youth's enlivening graces teach to love.
The pathless vale, the long-forsaken grove,
The rocky cave that bears the fair one's name,
With ivy mantled o'er. For empty fame
Let him amidst the rabble toil—or rove
In search of plunder far to western clime.
Give me to waste the hours in amorous play
With Delia, beauteous maid, and build the rhyme,
Praising her flowing hair, her snowy arms,
And all the prodigality of charms,
Form'd to enslave my heart and grace my lay.'

ART. III. *The History of the World, from the Reign of Alexander to that of Augustus.* By John Gillies, LL.D. 2 vols. 4to. Caddell & Davies, London. 1807.

THE countries of Western Asia afford no very flattering precedent to those who, confident in the perfectibility of mankind, see nothing but prospects of brilliancy before them, and anticipate ages of progressive improvement, with no danger of backward steps, and no boundary but the dissolution of the world. It is on the desolate plains, and among the degraded inhabitants of these regions, that we must look for the source of our arts, our letters, our religion, our population itself. There may seem to be a sort of compensation in the state of human society at different periods; and the polished kingdoms of Europe may be considered rather to have supplied the place of Egypt and Ionia, than to have been added to the permanent mass of civilized life.

The melancholy interest which the downfal of this portion of the globe has thrown over its history is heightened by the difficulty with which that history is learned, and the mysteriousness which hangs over great part of it. It is lighted, indeed, in its earlier periods, with so faint and quivering a lamp of authentic testimony, that the acuteness and erudition of modern times has constantly been baffled in attempting to dispel the gloom. A stronger ray breaks upon us about the age of Cyrus,—a period which, so far as that part of the world is concerned, forms a line of demarcation between known and unknown history. But, relatively to the state of society in those countries, a more important epoch is fixed by the subsequent conquests of Alexander. The Persian dynasty, like those still more ancient was barbarian: It was under the dominion of Greece, and afterwards of Rome, that Asia became, for a period of 900 years, the seat of regular military discipline, of diffused opulence, of legal government, and of philosophy.

It

It is during the earlier and more splendid part of this term, the interval between Alexander and Augustus, that the present author has undertaken to relate the revolution of the Grecian world, enlarged as that was by the successes of the former conqueror. A more interesting or honourable labour could scarcely have been chosen by the historian; nor one which presents more frequent opportunities of beguiling his own task and that of his readers, by illustrations from various branches of ancient and modern literature. In a former history of Greece, which has long since been given to the world, and which still continues, as we are told by the author in his preface, to experience public indulgence, Dr Gillies deduced the narrative to the death of Alexander. The military exploits of that hero fell, therefore, within its compass; but his political institutions, which were destined to become the groundwork of the Macedonian dominion in the East, seemed more properly reserved for the commencement of the present undertaking. Accordingly, Dr Gillies, in five preliminary chapters, has entered, as well upon these arrangements of Alexander, and upon the plans which were interrupted by his death, as upon the political geography of his dominions, and the history, so far as it can be known, of those considerable nations which had previously been melted down into the mass of the Persian empire.

In eleven years of perpetual victory, Alexander had traversed Asia from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis, and become the undisputed possessor of territories, nearly commensurate in their limits with the present kingdoms of Turkey and Persia. This conquest is not more memorable for the great and permanent revolution which it effected, than for the apparent inadequacy of the means. The throne of the successors of Cyrus, incomparably the greatest potentates who had hitherto existed within the limits of the ancient world, though protected, not more by the countless multitude of their own subjects, than by the disciplined valour of Grecian mercenaries, was subverted, within two years, by an army which fell considerably short of 40,000 men. After the battle of Arbela, in which the Greeks, with incredible exaggeration, report 300,000 barbarians to have fallen, no further resistance was opposed by Persia. The remaining part of Alexander's career was employed, and, some may think, wasted, in reducing the fierce and independent barbarians of the Oxus and the Indus, with so prodigal a display of personal valour, upon occasions comparatively unimportant, that we may reasonably suspect the ruling passion of his mind to have been not so much ambition, as the love of that frivolous glory which the foolish Greeks lavished upon the fabulous heroes of their poetical romances. Yet the

the death of Darius may have been of considerable importance to his success; it led the Persians to look upon him as a legitimate sovereign, whose title was sanctioned by conquest, and secured by the absence of competitors. It seems, indeed, a singular coincidence between his history, and that of the Roman hero most frequently compared to him, that each was relieved of his opponent by an assassination, in which he had no concern, and of which he reaped the full benefit, with the credit of punishing the traitor, and lamenting the treason.

Triumphs so easily achieved, may justly lead us as much to contempt of the vanquished, as to admiration of the conqueror. The unwieldy Colossus of the Persian empire tottered at the slightest blow; the vast living masses which barbarian despotism mistook for armies, were never led to battle without discomfiture; and the experience of a century and a half, from the memorable engagements of Marathon and Salamis, had proved, that nothing but the disunion of the Greeks could have preserved the Persian ascendancy upon the coasts of the Mediterranean. The weakness, indeed, of that monarchy, seems greater than might have been expected, from the natural bravery of some of its constituent nations; and we are surprised to find, among those who so tamely submitted to the yoke of Alexander, the ancestors of those warlike and polite barbarians, who, under the Parthian kings, and the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, repelled the Roman eagles, and avenged the violation of their territory in the blood of Crassus and of Julian. But the Greeks overlooked this consideration in the splendour of their hero's exploits; he obtained the name of the greatest, as well as the most successful commander whom the world had seen; and is said to have been placed in this rank by some who might seem well entitled to contest it with him. Later writers, especially the Romans, who were jealous of his renown, came to dwell more on the unfavourable parts of his character. His wild ambition—his disgraceful intemperance,—his love for adulation and servility,—all the spots and blemishes of his fervid temperament,—became the theme of satirists and philosophers; and the conqueror of Asia has been held up in no other light than that of a madman and a destroyer. The ingenious refinement of our own times, has done justice, and perhaps more than justice, to his political institutions. He certainly appears to have conceived enlightened commercial projects; and the numerous cities, judiciously founded in different parts of his empire, are proofs of the precautions he took to secure its durability. Yet so much of vain ambition, and even mere geographical curiosity, seems to have actuated the mind of Alexander, that we may doubt whether the celebrated voyage of Nearchus, and the correspondent march of the army through Caramania, had any

any object more precise than that of discovering and subduing what had been unexplored before. It seems still more doubtful to us, whether his assumption of the Persian dress, and exchange of the liberal spirit of free Greeks, for the baseness of oriental homage, was rather founded in deep policy, than in the intoxication which prosperity naturally produces, in a mind fond of power and of flattery. By this conduct, which is applauded by Dr Gillies, as it was by Robertson, he lost the affections of his Macedonian soldiers, which his own experience might have taught him to be more important, than those of the cowardly multitudes whom they had helped him to overcome. However generous the theory may appear, of regarding all denominations of subjects with equal favour, it should surely be effected rather by exalting the weak, than by degrading the strong. And, inconsistent with liberal government as we may think the vassalage of one nation to another, intermingled in the same territory, it has constantly recurred in the revolutions of the East, and is apparently inevitable, where great differences exist in the civil and military improvements of the two.

The predilection of Alexander for Persian customs will not appear the more judicious, if we consider his actual conquests as parts only of a scheme so extensive, that the countries east of the Euphrates would, had it been realized, have formed the least important portion of his empire. He bequeathed, as a legacy to his successors, the invasion of the Carthaginian dominions, and the task of bearing the Macedonian standard to the pillars of Hercules. Italy, it seems, would next have attracted him; and it has been matter of speculation, whether the power then rising in that country, and destined one time to plant its foot upon the neck of both his hereditary and acquired kingdoms, would have been found already ripe for the conflict. What Livy, like an indignant patriot asserts, Dr Gillies, like a staunch admirer of Alexander, denies; and, upon the whole, we do not quarrel with his conclusions. But we think him deceived in supposing, that the resistance of Rome would have been less formidable than that of Carthage. It seems one of those modern refinements upon history, of which we spoke above, to overrate the merits of that republic. Rich, without politeness or letters; active in commercial enterprize, without skill or courage in arms; she waged ignominious wars in Sicily with almost incessant defeat, and trembled for her own capital, on the incursion of a petty tyrant of Syracuse. But the strongest proof of her intrinsic cowardice and weakness, is, that in spite of her great maritime experience, she was unable to contend, during the Punic war, with the first naval armaments that were fitted out from the mouth of the Tiber.

That

That part of Dr Gillies's introductory chapters which relates to Alexander himself, is rather awkwardly interrupted with a description of the countries under his dominion, and long digressions upon their previous history. This is a fruitful and almost boundless field. Dark as the earlier ages of Asia appear, there are not wanting scattered notices and remnants of tradition enough to establish a few truths, and to sweep away a pile of errors. They bear, however, in strictness, but a small relation to the main narrative: yet we have ever regarded as pedantry, the cold criticism which would bind an historian to the mere letter of his undertaking, and condemn the delightful episodes of Gibbon, as idle and irrelevant. In that writer, it is impossible to admire sufficiently either the prodigality with which he pours out his stores of knowledge, or the facility with which he preserves their disposition and arrangement It is impossible to compliment Dr Gillies with equal praise in either of these respects; but we can say, that we have read these preliminary chapters with pleasure, and that he appears to have collected, though we suspect by no means exhausted, the materials which are to be found in various branches of ancient and modern literature. It would have been well, perhaps, if he had dwelt more, and with clearer method, upon the civil condition of these countries, at the time of Alexander's conquests, and less upon ancient and uncertain events.

The history of Assyria occupies a considerable portion both of the second and third chapters; and with respect to this obscure and contested subject, Dr Gillies conceives that he has discovered a satisfactory explication. Such of our readers as have attempted to pierce the darkness of antiquity, are well aware that the received accounts of that country, including the exploits of those eminent personages Ninus and Semiramis, rest principally upon the authority of Diodorus, who has expressly borrowed them from Ctesias, a writer notorious for want of veracity; and that the great extent assigned by them to the Assyrian empire, in times of high antiquity, is apparently irreconcileable with the account given in scripture of the progress of the Assyrian arms in the eighth century before the Christian era; till which time the cities of Mesopotamia, in the very vicinity of Niniveh, seem to have been governed by small independent sovereigns. Dr Gillies, to reconcile all difficulties, supposes two cities to have existed of that name; one at Mosul upon the Tigris, the commonly supposed site of Niniveh; the other at 400 miles distance, in the Babylonian plain; and in this latter he places the seat of the empire of Ninus, and of the great works which are ascribed to his name. So far, however, as we have attended to the point, there seems only one reason which countenances the supposition of this double

ble Nineveh; and that reason is not distinctly stated by Dr Gillies. It is, that Diodorus, differing herein we believe from every other writer, places the city built by Ninus upon the Euphrates, instead of the Tigris. If this can be got over, there appears to us no great weight in Dr Gillies's arguments. There is no doubt that Nineveh was a great and populous city, long before those conquests of the Assyrian kings, which established the first great monarchy in the east. It appears to have been properly what Mr Bryant calls it, 'a walled province,' comprising a circumference of fifty-one miles, within which were large pastures, and probably land in tillage. And this policy, we may remark, of walling in so great an extent, does not suggest to us the peaceful capital of a mighty empire. To the east, indeed, the Assyrians are said by Herodotus to have possessed dominion for several centuries, and especially over Media. The authority of that historian is deservedly great, and the fact, perhaps, contains no improbability. At the same time, the account given by Herodotus of the election of Dejoces, first king of the Medes, after their revolt from the Assyrians, seems rather applicable to a people living in a rude and almost patriarchal state of society, than to one who had lately shaken off the yoke of a powerful nation; an enterprize which could hardly have been carried on without some degree of confederacy and military government. It may be added, that the oriental histories of Persia, which, though not of much antiquity, acquire some credit by their great resemblance to what we read in Herodotus, appear to be silent with respect to the occupation of Media by the Assyrians. We suspect, however, that many of our readers may find themselves exceedingly indifferent about this profound question; and as they may be anxious to become better acquainted with Dr Gillies, we shall present them with the following extract, taken, with no particular preference, from the second section of his introduction.

'The same rank which Bactria held in Ariaria, Pessinus appears to have early acquired in Lesser Asia. Pessinus stood in the finest plain of Phrygia, which was anciently the most important, as well as largest province in that peninsula. It was washed by the river Sangarius, and in the near vicinity of the castle and palace of Gordium, revered for its mysterious knot involving the fate of Asia, and which had remained for upwards of a thousand years united, when it was finally cut by the sword of Alexander. Pessinus was thus situate in a district of high celebrity, and on the great caravan road which we formerly traced through the smooth and central division of the Asiatic peninsula. This road, in approaching the sea-coast, split into three branches, leading into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria; small but important provinces, which shone in arts and industry many ages before their winding shores were occupied by Grecian colonies. From Lydia, then called Mœonia, Pelops carried into

into Greece his golden treasures, the source of power to his family in the peninsula, to which he communicated the name of Peloponnesus. To the Lydians and Carians, many inventions are ascribed, bespeaking much ingenuity and early civilization. The coast of Mysia was embraced by the venerable kingdom of Priam, the Hellespontian Phrygia; and the more inland Phrygians, who were said to have colonized that maritime district, pretended, on grounds, some of them solid, and others extremely frivolous, to vie in antiquity with the Egyptians themselves. The three nations of Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, were intimately connected with each other by the community of religious rites, as well as by the ties of blood and language. They accordingly exhibited a striking uniformity in manners and pursuits, which, to a reader conversant with Roman history, may be described most briefly, by observing, that the principal features of their character are faithfully delineated in the effeminacy, ingenuity, and pompous vanity of the Tuscans, a kindred people, and their reputed descendants.

'These industrious and polished, but unwarlike inhabitants on the coast of the Ægean, were connected by many links with Upper Asia, but particularly by Pessinus, the ancient capital of the Phrygian kings, and at the same time the first and principal sanctuary, in those parts, of the mother of the gods, thence called the Pessinuntian Goddess, and more frequently the Idean Mother, Cybele, Berecynthia, Dindymené, names all of them derived from her long established worship on neighbouring mountains. The festivals of Cybele are selected, in poetical description, as among the most showy and magnificent in Paganism; and both the commerce and the superstition of Pessinus continued to flourish in vigour even down to the reign of Augustus. But, in his age, the ministers of the divinity, though they still continued magistrates of the city, had exceedingly declined in opulence and power; and, instead of being independent sovereigns with considerable revenues, might be described in modern language, in a work less grave than history, as a sort of prince bishops, vassals and mere creatures of Rome. To the west of Pessinus, the city Morena in Mysia, and, to the east of it, Morimena, Zela, and Comana, in the great central province of Cappadocia, exhibited institutions exactly similar to each other, and all nearly resembling those of the Phrygian capital. In the Augustan age, all those cities still continued to be governed by sacerdotal families, to which they had been subject from immemorial antiquity: they all stood on the great caravan road through Lesser Asia; and in all of them the terms marked by festivals and processions, were also distinguished by great fairs, not only frequented by neighbouring nations, but also numerously attended by traders from Upper Asia, and even by distant Nomades. Conformably with these circumstances in their favour, the routes of commerce traced a clear and distinct line of civilization and wealth, thus visibly contrasted with the rudeness and poverty of many remote parts of the peninsula; with the savageness of the Isaurians and Pisidians; with the half-barbarous Bithynians and Paphlagonians; in a word, with all those divisions of the country which lay beyond the genial influence of commerce

merce introduced and upheld by superstition, and superstition enriched, embellished, and confirmed by the traffic, which it protected and extended.' p. 86.

The struggle for power among the generals of Alexander, which lasted from his death to the battle of Ipsus, 22 years afterwards, occupies the seven next chapters. During this period, events crowd upon the mind in the most rapid succession; interesting alike from the talents of the ambitious chiefs concerned in them, and from the novel combinations of political affairs which were perpetually taking place. The cruel Perdiccas, the selfish Ptolemy, the brave and generous Eumenes, the rapacious and unprincipled Antigonus, pass in review like phantoms over the stage; and, in the conflict of their energetic ambition, we scarcely heed the sceptre of Alexander sliding from the feeble hands of his son and brother, and the sanguinary extinction of his family. The confederacy of four princes against the overgrown power of Antigonus, produced a more permanent settlement of the empire; and whatever may have been the case among the petty republics of Greece, this seems to have been the first instance of a coalition to restore the balance of power by distant and powerful sovereigns. The scheme of confederacy was planned with peculiar secrecy, and conducted with steadiness. Syria and the Lesser Asia at that time were governed by Antigonus; and his son Demetrius occupied most of the cities of Greece. The four confederates hung upon the frontiers of his monarchy. Elated with prosperity, the wily old man was for once taken by surprise. Lysimachus from Thrace, with the Macedonian auxiliaries of Cassander, burst into Phrygia; while Seleucus hastened to join him from beyond the Euphrates; and Ptolemy, though with more cautious marches, advanced from Egypt into Palestine. By the united armies of the two former, he was defeated and slain at Ipsus in Phrygia; and from the partition of his dominions were formed four kingdoms, which shortly were reduced to the three celebrated ones of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. We give Dr Gillies credit, upon examination, for sufficient fidelity to the materials from whence he has extracted his narrative; a notice which may seem the more necessary, as, in his translation of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, he had indulged a most reprehensible licence of loose paraphrase, or rather of interpolation.

Coincident with these events in point of time, though bearing no manner of relation to them, are the wars of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, with the Carthaginians in Sicily: a country which, though at that time in its decline, possesses so many claims to our curiosity, that it might have been worth while for Dr Gillies to have collected more of the scattered materials

terials which remain, with respect to the splendour of its better days. From Sicily he speedily returns to Asia, and brings before our eyes the partial dismemberment of the great empire of Seleucus, by the rise of independent sovereignties in Bactria, Parthia, and Asia Minor; the desolating irruption of the Gauls into the fairest provinces of Greece and Asia, and the security, renown, and lettered opulence of Egypt under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. But we enter our protest against the concluding chapter of the first volume, in which the author descants upon the early history of Rome, a subject, especially in his matter-of-fact mode of treating it, too trité to justify so superfluous an episode. As we come lower down in the history, Rome begins more to appear upon the stage; and the greater part of the second volume is employed upon transactions which are familiar to those conversant in the history of that republic. It is painful to follow the uninterrupted successes of unjust aggression; and these are not the times, in which the history of the steps by which the world was formerly absorbed into one empire, can be read either with less interest or greater satisfaction than heretofore. In some instances, traces of resemblance between ancient and modern times force themselves upon our attention. Who, indeed, that remembers the proclamations and conduct of the French in Italy about the year 1797, but must be struck with the resemblance they bear to the declarations of the liberty of Greece issued by Flamininus after the battle of Cynocephalæ? The same insincere professions of regard to their national freedom, were met with the same exultation at their release from a former yoke, and the same enthusiastic confidence in the delusive image of permanent independence. The parallel may seem more perfect, if we add to it their speedy spoliation, by the hands of their generous benefactors, of those works of art, which were not only the public pride, but, in many of the smaller cities, the chief means of enriching the community.

A more pleasing scene is displayed in the rise of the Achæan league, the second, but very inferior spring, of republican freedom in Greece. It was most wisely planned for a country much decayed in power, and unable to assume that haughty tone of independence, which Pericles or Agesilaus would rather have perished than have relaxed. It was the humbler object of Aratus to render the kings of Macedon allies and protectors, though not masters of Greece; and, by deferring much to their influence, to preserve what was most essential, the free regulation of their internal concerns, and a security from foreign garrisons in their cities. This object would have been more completely attained, if the other cities of Greece had been less jealous of the league: and

and its failure was perhaps chiefly owing to Cleomenes king of Sparta, whose merits have been a good deal exaggerated by Plutarch. The following account is given by Dr Gillies from Polybius, of the battle of Sellasia, fought about a century after the death of Alexander, between Cleomenes and the united forces of Macedon and the Achæan confederacy.

'Before coming to Sellasia, Antigonus had to pass a valley, the entrance to which was overhung by two hills, Eva and Olympus, forming respectively its eastern and western defences. Between these hills the river Oenus flowed to join the Eurotas, and along the bank of the Oenus, and afterwards of the united stream, the road led almost in a direct line to the Lacedemonian capital. When Antigonus approached the valley of Sellasia, he found that the enemy had seized both hills, and also had thrown up entrenchments before them. Cleomenes, with the Spartans, had chosen Olympus for his post; his brother Eucleidas, with the armed peasants, occupied Eva: the intermediate valley, on both sides the road, was defended by the cavalry and mercenaries. Instead of rashly engaging an enemy so strongly posted, Antigonus encamped at a moderate distance, having the river Gorgylus in front, and watchful of every opportunity to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the enemy's force, as well as the nature of the ground in which its several divisions were posted. He frequently alarmed them by shows of attack, but found them on all sides secure. At length, both kings, impatient of delay, and alike emulous of glory, embraced the resolution of coming to a general engagement.

'Antigonus had sent his Illyrians across the river Gorgylus in the night. They were to begin the assault of Mount Eva, accompanied by 3000 Macedonian targeteers, troops less heavily armed than the phalanx, and equipped in all points like the Argyraspides, who make so conspicuous a figure in former parts of this work, only that their targets were plated, not with silver, but with brass. The Acarnanians and Cretans composed the second line. Two thousand Achæans, all chosen men, followed as a body of reserve. Antigonus's cavalry, commanded by Alexander the son of Admetus, was ranged along the banks of the Oenus. It was not to advance against the enemy's force, until a purple signal had been raised on the side of Olympus by the king, who, at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, purposed to combat Cleomenes and his Spartans. A white ensign of linen first floated in the air. The Illyrians, for this was their summons to action, boldly marched up Mount Eva, and were followed by the divisions appointed to sustain them.—Upon this movement, the Achæans, forming the rear, were unexpectedly assailed by a body of light infantry, who sprung from amidst the ranks of the enemy's horse. The confusion occasioned by an onset, equally sudden and daring, threatened to give an easy victory to Eucleidas and his Lacedemonians, who from the heights of Eva might descend with great advantage against the disordered troops that had come to dislodge them. The danger was perceived by Philopæmon.—

He communicated his apprehensions to Alexander, who commanded the Macedonian cavalry. But as the purple ensign was not yet hoisted, Alexander disregarded the advice of an inexperienced youth.

'The character of that youth, however, was better known to his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis. They obeyed an authority derived from patriotism and merit, and seconded his ardour to seize the moment of assault. The shouts and shock of the engaging horsemen recalled the light troops who harassed the Macedonians in their ascent to Eva; by which means the latter, having recovered their order of battle, routed and slew Eucleidas. Philopœmen's exertions in the action seemed worthy of his generalship, in an age when example in battle was held essential to the enforcement of precept. After his horse fell under him, he still fought on foot, though pierced with a spear through both thighs, and was not borne from the field till the victory was decided.—Shortly after that event, Antigonus asked Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, "Why he had charged before orders?" Alexander said, "The fault was not his; for a young man of Megalopolis had, in defiance of authority, rushed forwards with his countrymen, and thus precipitated the engagement." Antigonus replied, "You acted the part of a young man; that youth of Megalopolis showed himself a great general."

'Cleomenes, meanwhile, perceiving the total rout of his right wing under Eucleidas, and seeing that his cavalry also was on the point of giving way, became fearful of being surrounded. For retrieving the honour of the day, he determined to quit his entrenchments; and, at the head of his Spartan spearmen, to attack Antigonus and the phalanx. The king of Macedon gladly embraced an opportunity of bringing the contest to an issue. The trumpets on both sides recalled their light skirmishers, who obstructed the space between the hostile lines. In the first shock, the weight of the Macedonians was overcome by the impetuous valour of the Spartans; but Antigonus, who had drawn up his men in what was called the double phalanx, had no sooner strengthened his foremost line, by the co-operation of his reserve, than his thickened ranks, bristling with pretended spears, bore down all resistance. The Spartans were put to the rout, and pursued with that merciless destruction which generally followed such close and fierce engagements. —Cleomenes escaped with a few horsemen to Sparta.'

In estimating the merit of Dr Gillies's work, although we should be inclined to place it a good deal above Rollin, or the Universal History, we cannot express ourselves satisfied with its execution. Without waiting to extract the spirit of history, without developing national character, or political institutions, he goes on, in general, straight forward, through a mere narration of facts; and even in this narration, we desiderate that sagacious and sceptical criticism, by which, in a period remarkably destitute of regular ancient history, the steps of the modern compiler ought to be guided. We shall produce two instances

stances of the latter fault. He gives the following account of the death of Antiochus the Great.

'In the elevated region of Elymais, the southern appendage to Mount Zayros, there was a staple or depository of this kind, at the meeting of the caravan roads connecting Media with Persia and Susiana. This temple, which had been adorned by the great Alexander, Antiochus determined to plunder. His assault was made in the night: the guards of the sacred enclosure defended their idols and treasures; they were assisted by hardy mountaineers, ever ready and armed, in its neighbourhood; a blind tumultuary engagement ensued, in which the king fell, fighting at once against the religion, the commerce, and the arts of his country.' Vol. II. p. 345.

At some distance, we find the death of Antiochus Epiphanes related in the following manner:

'During the war in Palestine, so disastrous to the Syrians, Antiochus had prosecuted an expedition, not less disastrous into Upper Asia. In the march thither, his proceedings are very imperfectly explained; but in the return, part of the army being left to collect tribute, Antiochus, with a powerful escort, advanced to plunder a temple and rich staple of trade in Elymais, the southern appendage to Mount Zayros, and the main caravan communication between Susiana and Media. In this impious attempt to rifle treasures under the protection of Venus or Diana, whose altars had been honoured and enriched by the great Alexander, he was defeated, with peculiar circumstances of disgrace, by the inhabitants of the surrounding district, and reduced to the necessity of making a speedy retreat to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There he first learned the repeated discomfitures and routs of his armies;—tidings which exasperated to fury the wounds which his pride had received, in the late repulse from Elymais. In the fire of his rage, he swore that he would render Palestine the sepulchre of the Jews; and, precipitating his march westward for that purpose, was overthrown in his chariot, and died of his wounds, at the obscure village Tabae, situate somewhere on the mountainous confines of Assyria.' p. 472.

Let us now see how he disposes of another Antiochus, surnamed Sidetes.

'The obscure goddess Iranæa should seem to have held her seat among the defiles of Mount Zayros. Antiochus, on pretence that he came to betroth her, entered the temple slightly accompanied, to receive her accumulated opulence by way of dower. But the priests of Iranæa having shut the outward gates of the sacred enclosure, opened the concealed doors on the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants, as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting their mutilated remains without the walls, thus awfully announced to the Syrians, who waited his return, the disaster of their king, and the terrific majesty of the goddess.' p. 552.

That three kings of Syria, of the same name, should perish in similar attempts to plunder the same temple, or at least one in

nearly the same place, is, one would think, too strange a coincidence to pass without suspicion. Dr Gillies has, however, it seems, no leisure to marvel, and never hints at the possibility, that, in the confused and irregular notices which are come down to us of this part of history, the names of these princes may have been mistaken. We are much disposed to consider the second story, the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the foundation of one or both of the other two; since that is unquestionably true, being attested by Polybius, a contemporary, as well as by Josephus and Appian. We have little doubt that the third is wholly false, as it stands solely upon the authority of the second book of Maccabees, a work of small credit, while several historians give quite a different account of the death of Antiochus Sidetes. The only difficulty is as to the circumstances related of Antiochus the Great: since we find this account of his death confirmed, independently of Justin, whom singly we should not much value, by Strabo and Diodorus; although the circumstances related by the latter bear a much nearer resemblance to what Polybius tells us of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

An inattention almost precisely similar, seems to us to have taken place in the two following passages. A war is waged by Seleucus Callinicus against the Parthians, in which, Dr Gillies tells us,

'The royal invader fell into the hands of the enemy, after being defeated in a great battle, decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians. His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces, the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia; but during all that time, treated by his conqueror with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes.' Vol. II. p 9.

More than a century afterwards, we are told of another Syrian monarch, a certain Demetrius Nicator, 'that he was taken prisoner by the Parthians, and retained by them ten years in a loose and honourable captivity.' p. 546.

The coincidence here, likewise, is suspicious, though less for the fact itself, than for the precise agreement in the number of years; which, we apprehend, Dr Gillies has transposed from the second story to the first, through mere inattention. Athenæus, the authority whom he quotes for the captivity of Seleucus, says only, that he remained πολυν χρονον, a great length of time, in Parthia. But as Athenæus, who is no historian, mentions the subject only incidentally, while Justin gives an incompatible account, we are inclined to believe that the former writer has, through negligence, put one name in place of another.

In

In the following note, an eminent writer is unjustly censured.

'Warburton's great merit, in the explanation of the origin and nature of hieroglyphics, is generally and justly admired: yet he has not exhausted the subject, and I cannot reconcile all of his conclusions with the only existing authorities concerning it; viz. Herodotus, l. 3. c. 36. —Diodorus, l. 3. c. 4.—Porphyr. in Vit. Pythagor.—Clemens Alexand. 5.—Strom. p. 555.; and a fragment of Manetho in Eusebius's Chronicle, p 6. In this fragment, Warburton, instead of ἱερογλυφικοις γραμμασιν, substitutes ἱερογραφικοις γραμμασιν. His reason for this correction is, that ἱερογλυφικοις being always used by the ancients to denote characters of things, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters of words, ought not to be joined with γραμμασιν which denotes characters of words only. Because ἱερογλυφικα always denotes characters of things, Warburton concluded that γραμματα always denotes characters of words. The conclusion is illogical, and contradictory to one of the passages on which our whole knowledge of the subject rests. περι δε των Αιθιοπικων γραμμαλων των παρ' Αιγυπτιοις ἱερογλυφικων καλουμενων. Diodorus, l. 3. c. 4 Conf. Divine Legation, b. 4. s. 4.' Vol. I. p. 48.

Warburton is here misrepresented. Manetho, in the fragment quoted, speaks of pillars inscribed by Thoth, the first Hermes, with hieroglyphic characters in the sacred dialect; and translated after the flood out of the sacred dialect into Greek with hieroglyphic characters, and deposited in the adyta of the Egyptian temples. Now, as hieroglyphics, as Warburton seems to have proved, stood for things and not for words, it is obviously absurd to say, that an inscription in those characters was either in Greek or in any other language. It is upon this account that he changes the text from ἱερογλυφικοις to ἱερογραφικοις; and it must be confessed, that, if the text cannot be supported, the alteration is not violent. We are inclined, however, to think, that the original word is right; and we hope for indulgence from the reader, if we allow this to lead us into a short digression, which may possibly throw some light upon a very interesting subject.

The origin of alphabetical writing has never been traced; but that of the Egyptians has been convincingly proved, by the Compte de Caylus, to be formed of hieroglyphical marks, adopted with no great variation. We find no appearance, says Warburton, of alphabetic characters on their public monuments.

This, however true at the time he wrote, cannot now be asserted, since the celebrated Rosetta stone, in the British Museum, is engraved with three distinct sets of characters,--Greek, Egyptian, and a third, resembling what are called hieroglyphics. The only doubt that can be entertained is, whether these are strictly hieroglyphics; that is, representations of things; or, rather, an alphabetical character, peculiar to the priesthood, and called hiero-

grammatics. 1. The existence of this sacred alphabet is attested by Herodotus, Diodorus, and several other writers. 2. It went occasionally under the name of hieroglyphic, as appears not only by the passage quoted above from Manetho, if we do not alter the text, but from one in Porphyry, which may be found in Warburton. 3. It was, however, considered as perfectly distinct from the genuine hieroglyphic, which was always understood to denote things, either by mere picture-writing, or more commonly, by very refined allegory. 4. Works of a popular and civil nature were written in this character, as we learn from Clement of Alexandria; whereas the genuine hieroglyphic was exceedingly secret and mysterious, and the knowledge of it confined to the priesthood. 5. The inscription upon the Rosetto stone is said, in the terms of the decree contained in it, to be written in sacred national and Greek characters. *Τοις τε ξεροις, και εγχωριοις, και Ελληνικοις γραμμασιν.* 6. It could not be a mysterious character, such as the genuine hieroglyphic seems to have been, because it was exposed to public view with a double translation. 7. It occupies a considerable space upon the stone, although an indefinite part of it is broken off; although the real hieroglyphic, as is natural to emblematic writing, appears to have been exceedingly compendious. 8. The characters do not appear to be very numerous, as they recur in various combinations of three, four, or more, as might be expected from the letters of an alphabet. But this argument we do not strongly press, because our examination has not been very long. It appears to hold out a decisive test; and we offer it, as such, to the ingenuity of antiquaries.

Upon these grounds, we think, that the characters upon the Rosetta stone, which are commonly denominated hieroglyphics, are, in fact, the original alphabetic characters of the Egyptians; from which the others have probably been derived, by a gradual corruption through haste in writing. They are, however, in one sense, hieroglyphics, being tolerably accurate delineations of men, animals, and instruments. If we are right in our conjectures, the value of the Rosetto stone is incomparably greater than has been imagined. We have no need of hieroglyphics; Roman and Egyptian monuments are full of them. But a primitive alphabet, probably the earliest ever formed in the world, and illustrating an important link in the history of writing, the adaptation of signs to words, is certainly a discovery very interesting to any philosophical mind. Through what steps the analysis of articulate sound into its constituent parts was completed, if we can say that it ever has been completed, so as to establish distinct marks for each of them; and whether these marks were taken at random, or from some supposed analogy between the simple sounds they were brought to

to represent, and their primary hieroglyphical meaning, are questions which still stand in need of solution. We offer these remarks with equal diffidence as to their truth and their originality. If to any of our learned readers, they should not appear new, we entreat their candour for troubling them with opinions, which, so far as our limited information extends, have not hitherto been made public.

In recompense to Dr Gillies, we will quote a passage in which he has cleared up a difficulty which perplexed two eminent writers.

'The vastness of the palace, or rather the palaces of Alexandria, need not surprise us, if we admit that the imperial palace at Rome was larger than all the rest of that capital. Hume, in his Essay on the populousness of ancient nations, p 473, is justly incredulous with regard to this point; and Gibbon endeavour to remove the difficulty by saying, that the emperors had confiscated the houses and gardens of opulent senators,--therefore, included under the name of the imperial palace. (*Decline and Fall*, c. 6. p. 161.) But upon turning to the passage in Herodian, l. 4 c. 1. on which this incredible account of the magnitude of the imperial palace wholly rests, the words convey to me a different meaning from that in which they are taken by all Latin translators, not excepting the learned Politian. The historian relates, that the sons of Severus, upon their father's death at York, hastened by the shortest road to Rome, never eating at the same table, nor sleeping in the same house. The rapidity of their journey was urged by their desire of taking up separate quarters in the amplitude of the royal palace, greater than any city, πασης πολεως μειζονι. Herodian institutes, not a comparison between the magnitude of Rome and that of its imperial palace; he only intimates, generally and indefinitely, the magnitude of the palace, in distinct wings of which, Caracalla and Geta thought they would be safer from each other's machinations than in the cities of Gaul and Italy, through which they had to pass.'

We thoroughly concur in this opinion; indeed, it might be stated with more absolute confidence than it is by Dr Gillies. It excites a suspicion that both Mr Hume and Mr Gibbon must have looked at *the wrong column* in the page of their Herodian. That historian seems to have spoken rhetorically, and called the royal palace at Rome greater than *any* city, merely as a hyperbolical expression to denote its prodigious extent.

Our opinion of Dr Gillies's work may be justly collected from what we have said already. It does not appear to present such a luminous and masterly view of the very interesting period which it embraces, as would have been given by Mr Gibbon or Dr Robertson; but it exhibits proofs of learned research, and may, upon the whole, we think, be read with pleasure and advantage. It deserves no praise on the score of style, which is commonly diffuse

and overcharged; and often vulgar and slovenly. We cannot dismiss this subject, without remarking, that there are some interesting questions with regard to the Grecian monarchies after Alexander, which are scarce at all touched by Dr Gillies. Such are the state of their armies, and the sort of troops of which they were composed,—their laws and government,—the tone of the national character and manners,—the state of the natives under their subjection,—and the symptoms of internal strength or weakness in this situation. We cannot justly be expected to make up their deficiency; but perhaps the reader will excuse us for putting together a few facts upon some of these points, which will not be found collectively in the work under our review.

I. The small Macedonian army of Alexander received frequent recruits from the same country during the course of his conquests; which, however, unless more numerous than ancient writers report them, could have little more than repaired the losses of war and fatigue during eleven years, and filled the place of those veterans whom from time to time he dismissed to their native country. The collective armies, however, of his generals, while they were disputing the spoil, almost immediately after his death, seem to have been very numerous. Antigonus brought 80,000 men into the battle of Ipsus; the opposite army was little inferior; and the troops of Ptolemy were not engaged in this action. This, too, was after twenty years of constant warfare, and many well contested and sanguinary battles. Macedon was indeed the mint of soldiers; but Macedon was a country of no vast extent, and, after it became divided from the rest of the empire, could not, it should seem, have furnished troops to foreign and often hostile sovereigns. The solution of this problem may be found by comparing scattered passages of antiquity. The great strength of all these armies was the Macedonian phalanx; one of those grand military innovations which have rewarded the genius of their inventors with supreme power and renown. For two centuries the phalanx was supposed to be irresistible. When complete, it consisted of 1024 files, 16 deep. Their charge in close order, presenting their Macedonian spears, which were of such a length, that those of the fifth rank projected beyond the front, was not to be withstood by the shorter weapons and less compact arrangement of the Greeks, much less by the rude and irregular multitudes of the Asiatics. This phalanx, so early as the time of Alexander, was filled up with Persians. We are told by Arrian, that he formed the 3 first ranks of Macedonians, the 12 next of Persians, and placed another Macedonian in the last. By this judicious intermixture, the want of skill, and perhaps of bravery, in the Persians, was compensated. They acquired, with the arms and

and discipline, the spirit and self-estimation of their conquerors; and we are almost inclined to suspect, that they were gradually confounded under the same name. Long at least after this age, and when few native Macedonians can be well supposed to have served in the troops of Egypt, in the sedition which followed the death of Ptolemy Philopater, the soldiery is addressed by Agathocles with that honourable appellation. Next in dignity to the Macedonians, or those at least who bore their name in the phalanx, were the mercenary troops who were raised, in great numbers, for the service of the two eastern kings from the Grecian cities of Europe and Asia. These seem not to have adoped the Macedonian tactics, but were ranged commonly on each side of the phalanx, and formed a very respectable part of the army. The great victory obtained by Ptolemy Philopater at Raphia, is ascribed by Polybius to the freshness of his Grecian mercenaries, which had lately been levied for his service; whereas, those of Antiochus were exhausted by the fatigue of long campaigns in the Upper Asia. A passage in Plautus throws light upon the recruiting or crimping system of that time. In the comedy of the *Miles Gloriosus*, Pyrgopolinices tells us that he was employed upon such a commission,—

> 'Nam rex Seleucus me opere oravit maximo,
> Ut sibi latrones (*i. e.* mercenarios) cogerem et conscriberem.'
> *Act.* 1. *Sc.* 1.

In the plays, indeed, of that writer, and of Terence, the mirrors of the later Greek comedy, we find the stage character of the partisan, who has served in the wars of Asia, as much established as those of the slave and the parasite. It occurs three or four times in Plautus, and once in the well known Thraso of Terence: and although the sameness which pervades them, may lead us to think that these authors rather copied each other than real life, there must have been a prototype in the received notion of the character, which the public were able to recognize. In every instance, they are represented as having acquired inordinate riches, and as spending it a good deal in the same manner as an English sailor is supposed to get rid of his prize-money. But the parallel will hold no further. The most ridiculous vanity, stupidity, and cowardice, are the constant attributes of the soldier in those comedies. A nation, one would think, must be sunk very low in which the military character was never exhibited but as odious and contemptible. But, to judge from history, the picture must be somewhat overcharged. The Greeks of that age, though unable to cope with Rome or Macedon, displayed occasionally both skill and prowess. Perhaps it was unpopular thus to waste the blood of Greece in wars in which it had no concern; and public indignation

indignation refused to the mercenaries of the Seleucidæ that admiration and sympathy which are the usual reward of a military life. The third class of troops in the armies of these princes, were their native subjects. Though the inhabitants of the finest climates of Asia were generally unwarlike, other parts, especially the mountainous districts, contained a hardy race of men. The skill which barbarians frequently acquire in missile weapons, is formidable to any army not possessed of artillery, and consequently obliged to fight near at hand. Media, the finest province of Asia, produced an incomparable breed of horses; and the kings of Syria, at one time, were able to reinforce their armies from the savage hardihood of the Isaurian mountaineers, the obstinate bravery of the Jews, and the dexterity of the Parthian cavalry. The kingdom of Egypt seems to supply less military resources from itself. Yet, if 200,000 infantry and 40,000 horse obeyed the mandate of Philadelphus, so prodigious an army could hardly have been collected without great draughts upon the native population.

II. It would be a more difficult task to attempt the satisfactory delineation of the internal state of society. If we were to judge from the personal character of the sovereigns, upon which, in a mere despotism, so much seems to depend, the condition of the Eastern Greeks would generally appear deplorable. After the first or second generation, the successors of Seleucus and Ptolemy degenerated into effeminate luxury or portentous guilt; and the annals of Constantinople itself hardly contain a greater series of crimes, than sullied the royal families of Antioch and Alexandria. But this was compensated to their subjects by the peculiar advantages of their situation. They enjoyed the inexhaustible fertility of Syria, Babylonia, and Egypt. The ports of the Mediterranean were crowded with vessels, secure from maritime hostility; and the creation of almost numberless cities; bearing the names of Seleucus and his family, is the noblest evidence of the riches and magnificence of that dynasty. Athenæus speaks of the Syrians, as a people who, from the fertility of their country, had little need to labour, and consumed their leisure in banqueting and diversions. Antioch, the capital, was most distinguished for this character. The beautiful grove of Daphne, situated about five miles from that city, was the scene where its luxurious inhabitants abused the prodigality of nature in every enjoyment of voluptuous ease. It was the more honourable characteristic of Alexandria, to be the seat of literature; and the praise of her sovereigns to have bestowed patronage upon men, who, however inferior to those nursed in the bosom of Grecian liberty, surpassed them in erudition, and have formed a sort of epoch in the history

tory of letters. Less regard seems to have been paid to science by the Seleucidæ; but they cultivated the favourite and almost peculiar art of the Greeks, that of stamping metals with consummate beauty and ingenuity; and, by their coins and medals, the imperfect remains of their history have often been illustrated. The condition of the native Orientals is not easily to be distinguished. The remote and barbarous provinces, wherein but few Greeks were settled, probably felt little more than a nominal subjection, and retained such laws and customs as they might have of their own. Even in the city of Seleucia, Polybius seems to speak of magistrates or judges belonging to the native inhabitants. Their condition, however, where the Greeks were numerous, as in Syria or Cilciia, was probably little better than servile; at least those countries seem to have supplied slaves to the markets of Greece and Italy.

III. If we were to appreciate political vigour merely by extent of dominion, the kingdom of Syria would appear incomparably the most powerful of those that were shared amongst the conquerors of Ipsus. But it was weakened by its own size, and by the difficulty of retaining in subjection nations distinct in their race, manners, and language. The distant provinces were necessarily entrusted to the care of viceroys, who sometimes became too powerful to continue subjects. Two successive revolts of Molo in the Upper, and of Achæus in the Lesser Assia, threatened the throne of Antiochus the Great; and although his victories for a time reestablished the Syrian power throughout Asia, yet after his death, or rather after the inglorious events of the latter part of his reign, it soon fell to pieces, and, in less than half a century, was reduced to insignificance. Even in its best days, we must not conceive that the successors of Seleucus possessed that firm and well compacted sovereignty over all parts of their dominions, which notions borrowed from modern Europe would lead us to expect. They received assistance in war, and tribute in peace, from many barbarous nations who maintained in their own precincts a virtual independence. The writ of the king of Syria, we suspect, did not run into the mountains of the Mardi or the Carduchi. But decisive proofs of their weakness appear in the countries which were successively dismembered from their dominions. In Asia Minor, the northern parts were occupied by the three petty kingdoms of Pergamos, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, and the more powerful one of Pontus; a horde of Gauls and the kings of Cappadocia shared part of the midland district, and latterly a nest of pirates fastened upon the southern coast of Pamphilia and Cilicia. In the east, their possessions were equally dilapidated. Immediately after the death of Alexander,

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an Indian chief, by name Sandrocottus, drove the Macedonians from the Panjab; and Seleucus prudently sold his claim to those distant conquests for 500 elephants. So little is heard afterwards of the provinces lying on the hither side of the Indus, about Candahar, that we may suspect them to have followed the example. Theodotus, a Greek, soon afterwards revolted in Bactria, and established a dynasty which lasted for near a century and a half, till it was swept away by an invasion of Tartars; which is attested at once by the historians of Greece and of China. This little kingdom, stationed as it were upon the outposts of civilized life, has excited some interest in modern times; and Mr Gibbon has thought fit to give them credit for being the instructors of the Tartars, and even the Hindoos, in science. It was not, however, as has sometimes been imagined, insulated, till within a few years of its downfal; the kings of Syria retaining the adjacent province of Ariana, part of the present Khorasan and Sigistan. A far more important people occupied the western parts of Khorasan, the Parthians, who are thought with much probability to have been a Scythian clan, which at an early period had fixed itself in that region. Antiochus the Great kept them within bounds; but after his death they encroached upon Media, and finally usurped all the provinces to the east of the Euphrates.

The kingdom of Egypt, though necessarily more circumscribed than that of Syria, was less liable to dismemberment. Its limits were however various. Cyrene was its permanent appendage. It contained also generally Cyprus, and sometimes Cœlo-Syria, which was its debateable frontier on the side of Asia. Two only of its monarchs seem to have achieved more extensive conquests. In the golden age of Ptolemy Philadelpus, Crete, Caria, and Lycia, were subject to Egypt. At a later period, Ptolemy Euergetes gained more unprofitable trophies, from an expedition into Nubia, the memory of which is preserved by an inscription discovered in that country about the 6th century. But when the Romans came to meddle with the affairs of the East, the kings of Egypt felt their inadequacy to contend; obeyed the mandates of the republic with humiliating obsequiousness, and were rewarded by that great Polypheme, with the privilege of being devoured the last.

In extent and opulence, the kingdom of Macedon was the least considerable of the three. In rating its effective power we should perhaps make a different estimate. Though not very commercial, it contained mines of the precious, as well as the ruder metals. Its natives formed excellent soldiers, brave, faithful, steady, and patient. It was embraced, except on the side of the sea, by a strong mountainous barrier; beyond which, to the north and east,

east, dwelt fierce and warlike barbarians, which though not always in very thorough submission, were commonly its auxiliaries in the field. By the resistance which it made to the Roman arms, we may judge of the intrinsic strength of Macedon. The contest was quite unequal. Rome had ceased to fight up hill, and had come to wield forces of every kind, far superior to those of any competitor. Yet even under these disadvantages, the unpopular and spiritless Perseus was able to foil three successive Roman consuls in the defence of his country. The harsh measures to which the Romans resorted, prove the sense they entertained of the compatriots of Alexander. Macedon was divided into four districts, perfectly distinct in police and government; and, to render the separation more perfect, intermarriages among their exclusive inhabitants were prohibited. There is one peculiarity which applies equally to the Macedonians and Greeks of Syria and Egypt. Though each of their royal families was placed upon the throne by no right but conquest, though they had supplanted and extinguished the ancient stock, though their own elevation was recent in the memory of man, their subjects appear to have felt for them all that blindness of loyalty, which is commonly supposed to follow only long established and illustrious dynasties. No impostor, who made pretensions to royal descent, failed of temporary success; even though he claimed to draw his breath from the contemptible Perseus, or the frantic Antiochus Epiphanes. So irregular is the attachment of nations to their rulers, and so fallacious the reasoning of those who suppose that such sentiments cannot be felt for those whose possession is but of yesterday, and whose title is the sword.

ART. IV. *Outlines of a Plan for Educating Ten Thousand Poor Children, by establishing Schools in Country Towns and Villages; and for uniting Works of Industry with useful Knowledge.* By Joseph Lancaster. 8vo. London. 1806.

THOUGH it fell to our lot to defend Mr Lancaster against the cruel and unfounded clamour to which he was exposed,—partly because he had the misfortune not to be a member of the church of England, principally on account of his great merit,—our observations, at that period, were more calculated to repel the aggressions of his enemies, than to explain the nature, and to enforce the importance, of his improvements in education.

We premise that we are going to say a great deal about slate pencils, primmers, and spelling-books. We are aware such details

tails must be very dull, and would be unpardonable, if they were not eminently useful. We would not, however, load our pages with them, if the object were to recommend an ingenious theory for trial, rather than to explain an invention which has been already attended with the most perfect success. If an artist comes with a tiresome and complicated machine, and boasts of its extraordinary powers, we have a right to say, go to work, and give us some proof. But when he accepts the challenge, and in practice outdoes his own boastings, it is necessary to look over every rack and pinion of his instrument,—to speak of it honourably, that it may be studied, and to describe it perspicuously, that it may be imitated.

We shall state the methods of Mr Lancaster in the branches of education which his school comprehends,—point out the leading principles on which he appears to have conducted his institution,—discuss, shortly, the question of his originality, and then take the liberty of making a few remarks on the much and lately agitated question, of the education of the poor.

The first or lowest class of children are taught to write the printed alphabet, and to name the letters when they see them. The same with the figures used in arithmetic. One day the boy traces the form of the letter, or figure; the next day he tells the name, when he sees the letter. These two methods assist each other. When he is required to write H, for example, the shape of the letter which he saw yesterday assists his manual execution;—when he is required to say how that letter is named, the shape of the letter reminds him of his manual execution; and the manual execution has associated itself with the name.

In the same manner he learns syllables and words; writing them one day,—reading them the next.

The same process for writing the common epistolary character, and for reading it.

(A) This progress made, the class go up to the master to read,—a class consisting perhaps of 30. While one boy is reading,* the word, *ex gr.* Ab-so-lu-ti-on, is given out with a loud voice by the monitor, and written down by all the other 29 boys, who are provided with slates for that purpose; which writing is looked over by the monitors, and then another word called, and so on; whoever writes a word, spells it of course at the same time, and spells it with much more attention than in the common way. So that there is always one boy reading, and twenty-nine writing and

* This is the only instance of solitary reading, and is used rather as a more particular trial of a boy's progress: in general, Mr Lancaster disapproves of it, as it creates no emulation.

and spelling at the same time; whereas, in the ancient method, the other twenty-nine did nothing.

(B) The first and second classes write in sand; the middle classes on slates; only a few of the upper boys on paper with ink. This is a great saving in point of expence;—in books the saving is still greater. Twenty or thirty boys stand round a card suspended on a nail, making a semicircle. On this card are printed the letters in a very large character;—these letters the boys are to name, at the request of the monitor. When one spelling class have said their lessons in this manner, they are despatched off to some other occupation, and another spelling class succeeds. In this manner, one book or card may serve for 200 boys, who would, according to the common method, have had a book each. In the same manner, syllables and reading lessons are printed on cards, and used with the same beneficial economy.

(C) In arithmetic, the monitor dictates a sum, *ex. gr.* in addition, which all the boys write down on their slates. For example,

7 2 4
3 7 8
9 4 6

He then tells them, aloud, how to add the sum. First column—6 and 8 are 14, and 4 are 18; set down 8 and carry 1 to the next column; and so on. In this manner, the class acquire facility of writing figures, and placing them; and, by practising what the monitor dictates, insensibly acquire facility in adding. Again they are placed round arithmetical cards, in the same manner as in paragraph (B), and required to add up the columns. This method evinces what progress they have made from the preceding method of dictating; and the two methods are always used alternately.

It is obvious, that a school like this of Mr Lancaster's, consisting of from 700 to 1000 boys, would soon fall into decay, without a very close attention to order and method. In this part of his system, Mr Lancaster has been as eminently successful as in any other; contriving to make the method and arrangement, so necessary to his institution, a source of amusement to the children. In coming into school, in going out, and in moving in their classes from one part of the school to another, the children move in a kind of measured pace, and in known places, according to their number, of which every boy has one. Upon the first institution of the school, there was a great loss and confusion of hats. After every boy has taken his place there, they all stand up, expecting the word of command, *Sling your hats!* upon which they immediately suspend their hats round their necks by a string provided for that purpose. When the young children write in sand,

sand, they all look attentively to their monitor, waiting for the word, and instantly fall to work, with military precision, upon receiving it. All these little inventions keep children in a constant state of activity, prevent the listlessness so observable in all other institutions for education, and evince (trifling as they appear to be) a very original and observing mind in him who invented them.

The boys assembled round their reading or arithmetical cards, *take places* as in common schools. The boy who is at the head of the class wears a ticket, with some suitable inscription, and has a prize of a little picture. The ticket-bearer yields his badge of honour to whoever can excel him; and the desire of obtaining, and the fear of losing the mark of distinction, creates, as may easily be conceived, no common degree of enterprize and exertion. Boys have a prize when they are moved from one class to another, as the monitor has also from whose class they are removed. Mr Lancaster has established a sort of paper currency of tickets. These tickets are given for merit;—two tickets are worth a paper kite;—three worth a ball;—four worth a wooden horse, &c. &c. &c.

'It is no unusual thing with me to deliver one or two hundred prizes at the same time. And at such times the countenances of the whole school exhibit a most pleasing scene of delight: as the boys who obtain prizes, commonly walk round the school in procession, holding the prizes in their hands, and a *herald* proclaiming before them, 'These good boys have obtained prizes for going into another class. The honour of this has an effect as powerful, if not more so, than the prizes themselves.'

A large collection of toys, bats, balls, pictures, kites, is suspended above the master's head, beaming glory and pleasure upon the school beneath. Mr Lancaster has also, as another incentive, an order of merit. No boys are admitted to this order but those who distinguish themselves by attention to their studies, and by their endeavours to check vice. The distinguishing badge is a silver medal and plated chain hanging from the neck. The superior class has a fixed place in the school; any class that can excel it may eject them from this place, and occupy it themselves. Every member, both of the attacking and defending classes, feels, of course, the most lively interest in the issue of the contest.

Mr Lancaster punishes by shame rather than pain; varying the means of exciting shame, because, as he justly observes, any mode of punishment long continued loses its effect.

The boys in the school appointed to teach others are called monitors; they are in the proportion of about one monitor to ten boys. So that, for the whole school of 1000 boys, there is only one

one master; the rest of the teaching is all done by the boys themselves. Besides the teaching monitors, there are general monitors, such as inspectors of slates, inspectors of absentees, &c.

In what Mr Lancaster says upon the subject of religion, it is clear that he has no desire to convert, and no intention to be converted. 'Either let the religion of Quakers be taught, if a Quaker school is founded upon this method of teaching writing and reading; or I will confine myself to those general practical principles which are suitable to all sects, if you choose to found a general school for the instruction of indigence; or I will meddle only with the temporal instruction of my pupils, and you may confide their religious instruction to whom you please.' So says the member of a religious sect, which, of all other religious sects, has shewed itself the least desirous of making converts. This is so moderate, and so reasonable, that, if we are rightly informed, Mr Lancaster has at last not only succeeded in allaying the jealousy of some of the rulers of the English church, but has even raised himself up some patrons out of their numbers.

These we believe to be the leading features of this establishment. For the many interesting particulars which, in so short an abstract, we have been compelled to omit, we refer to the book itself. It is not badly written, though somewhat quaint and quakerish: but we have no objection to the Obadiah flavour, and do not wish that Quakers should write books like other people;—there is something interesting and picturesque in their singularities.

The improvements which Mr Lancaster has made in education, are, in the cheapness of schools, their activity, their order, and their emulation. The reading, cyphering, and spelling cards, suspended for the successive use of 3 or 400 boys; the employment of sand and slate instead of pen and ink, and particularly of monitors instead of ushers, must, in large seminaries, constitute an immense saving. The introduction of monitors, an extremely important part of the whole scheme, is as great an improvement in schools, as the introduction of noncommissioned officers would be in an army which had before been governed only by captains, majors, and colonels: they add that constant and minute attention to the operations of the mass, without which, the general and occasional superintendance of superiors is wholly useless. An usher hates his task, and is often ashamed of it; a monitor is honoured by it, and therefore loves it: he is placed over those who, if their exertions had been superior, would have been placed over him; his office is the proof of his excellence. Power is new to him; and trust makes him trustworthy,—a very common effect of confidence, and exemplified in the most striking manner in Mr

Lancaster's school. Nor is the monitor at all detained by teaching to others what he has already learnt; at least not unprofitably detained; for, if a boy be at the head of the first spelling class, it is clear, that a delay of six or eight weeks in teaching to others what he has already learnt, will perfect him in his new acquirements, and rivet them in his memory. After this, he is made a private in some superior regiment, and his post becomes an object of honour and competition to the lads whom he has taught. He is very wisely allowed to have a common interest with the boys whom he instructs; and to receive a prize equal in value with any prize obtained by any individual among them. In some instances, the monitor teaches and learns at the same time; for, in dictating the sum as in paragraph (C), the monitor is furnished with a key; and, therefore, in dictating, only reads what others have written for him; but in so doing, it is plain his attention must be exercised, and his memory impressed as much, if not more, than those of any boy in the class; and, whatever good is produced in others by that mode of instruction, must be produced in him in an equal, or superior degree. The extraordinary discipline, progress, and economy of this school, are, therefore, in a great measure, produced by an extraordinary number of noncommissioned officers, serving without pay, and learning while they teach.

When we consider the very dull and distant motives for improvement which have hitherto been presented to children, it is not surprising that education should be often so unsuccessful—always so tedious. The day is fine, the sun shines brightly throught the window, and a fine young animal, with his veins quivering with health and activity, is not only forbidden to trundle a new purchased hoop, but set down before a black slate to do a sum in tare and trett; or, in greater schools, to make a copy of Latin verses about Troy and Æneas.—What are his motives for undergoing this present misery? Has he a wife and family to support, like the thrasher who goes to his daily task? Is he refreshed by immediate fees like the accomplished *pillulist*, who drives from fistula to fever, and from ague to atrophy? Is he certain, like an author, of losing his dinners for the ensuing week, if his task is incomplete?—The only motives held before him are, that he will please his father, and be a great man in after life; and that Latin and Greek are necessary accomplishments for a gentleman. Alas, the eternity of six months must elapse, before the parent is made acquainted with the general progress he has made;—that 14 years should pass away, and he himself arrive at man's estate, is quite impossible;—and, if it is possible, he has an uncle or a cousin of large fortune, universally respected, and powerful at the quarter sessions, who does not know whether Brutus killed Cæsar,

Cæsar, or Cæsar Brutus; and who believes Tully and Cicero to be two distinct persons. Such are the remote and powerless motives with which children have hitherto been stimulated. The bats, balls, and kites of Mr Lancaster, we conceive to be admirable auxiliaries of education, and to afford that strong and present stimulus which best overcomes the *vis inertiæ*, and establishes the difficult and unnatural habit of application. It is all very well to talk about studying from a sense of duty. Mature bearded men, who fall into this cant, require the immediate stimulus of a guinea; or, at least, a return for their labour in a month or a year; expecting, in the mean time, that the poor child for whom they cant, the miserable and inexperienced *cantee*, should exert himself for benefits which it is very doubtful whether or not he will reap when half his life is elapsed. Nothing, in our opinion, can be so preposterous as the objections made to an order of merit in a school. In what way are such extraordinary services ever obtained from mankind at so cheap a rate? Tie two guineas worth of gold to a red ribbon, and call it the order of the golden cannon, or the golden swivel, or what not;—and in every battle you will have a thousand young men of spirit performing the most daring actions to obtain it. A garter is vacant —or, in other words, the privilege of telling the passer-by, by means of a bit of gold at the knee, and a bit of silver on the belly, that you are a man of high birth and large fortune. The cabinet, however, sit in grave consultation on the distribution of this honour; the greatest men of the country are sleepless in their palaces, and the minister loses or gains the lord of a province by his gift;—and yet we are half angry that a breechless boy should struggle day and night for a shining lump of tin, which tells the passer-by that he is diligent and good. We do not mean, by these observations, to express the slightest degree of disrespect for the established honours of the country,—quite the contrary. We are convinced that such institutions are thoroughly founded in good sense, and knowledge of human nature; and that they are eminently useful. We approve, in the most decided manner, the courage and originality of that man who has carried into education those institutions, which, in the business of the world, are the most powerful of all motives. Vanity is the word on which all these objections are founded; and it unfortunately happens, that we have no word in our language to signify the good and useful love of praise; for, that the love of praise is, under certain regulations, one of the most beneficial passions to society, will not, it is presumed, be denied; nor ought it to be characterised by the inculpative term of vanity, except when its object is frivolous, or when it is the sole and absorbing passion.

It must not be forgotten, that in Mr Lancaster's school every boy is every moment employed. It is obvious, that in the class assembled round the suspended card for reading and spelling, —the wand of the monitor pointing to the particular letter,—the taking places,—the hopes of obtaining a ticket,—must keep the children constantly on the alert. When they read, spell, and write at the same time, as in paragraph (A), or when the monitor dictates sums, as in (C), it is impossible for any individual to be inattentive. In common schools the scholar is set to learn his spelling, or his cyphering, by himself; and, after a certain time, the master hears him his lesson, and judges of his attention by his readiness in performing it. The learning part of the business is left entirely to the boy himself, and his time often whil'd away in every species of idleness. The beauty of Mr Lancaster's system is, that nothing is trusted to the boy himself; he does not only *repeat* the lesson before a superior, but he *learns* it before a superior. When he listens to the dictating process in arithmetic, and adds up as he is commanded, he does that under the eye and command of a master, which, in other schools, he would be trusted to do by himself. In short, in these troops the appointed officer sees, that the soldier shoulders his musket twenty times a day, who by doing it often, cannot avoid doing it well. In other troops, the officer tells the soldiers how it is to be done, and leaves them to practise by themselves,—which they do, of course, very unwillingly, and very imperfectly, if they do it at all. Such are the principles upon which Mr Lancaster has planned his improvements in the education of the poor, and carried them into execution with such success, *that one thousand boys may now be educated in reading, writing, and arithmetic, by one person, at an expense not exceeding* 300*l. per annum.* A more beautiful, a more orderly, and a more affecting scene, than the school of Mr Lancaster, it is not possible to behold. The progress of the children is rapid beyond all belief; and evinces, in the most gratifying manner, the extraordinary effects which are produced upon the human mind by the arts of cultivation.

When a poor lad is educated, many valuable principles of religion, morals, and politics, may be fixed on his mind, which could not be conveniently taught to him by any other means. At school he is under the influence of the master; for some years afterwards, at home, under the influence of his parents. They have an interest in directing his newly acquired power aright, and in turning the bias of his mind to what is good; and this at a period which generally decides the character of the future man. It is very trite to say, that reading multiplies the innocent resources and amusements of the poor; but we cannot see why this is not very

very true. We do not object either to boxing or bull-baiting; but the history of Robinson Crusoe is compatible with them, or, if not, is at least a very fair and innocent rival to set up against them. Village sports are necessarily of rare occurrence. Reading is always accessible, and is permanently opposed to the permanent temptation of beer. The comforts and conveniencies of life would be somewhat increased, if every person in the state were educated. In agriculture, in manufactures, and among domestic servants, every body has felt more or less of inconvenience, from the deficiencies of his dependants in reading, writing, and accounts. It is frequently found impossible to put very clever servants in the best situations, from their ignorance in these particulars; and masters are forced to place superiors over them, in other respects not qualified. The sum of these inconveniencies is worth attention.

Nature scatters talents in a very capricious manner over the different ranks of society. It is not improbable but a general system of education would rescue some very extraordinary understandings from oblivion.

Education raises up in the poor an admiration for something else besides brute strength and brute courage; and probably renders them more tractable and less ferocious. A mob might issue forth to murder a man,—all of whom could read, write, and work sums in compound multiplication and the rule of three. This certainly might be; but it is not quite so probable an occurrence, as if they had employed their youth in scampering through the streets of London, and in small pilfering. The education of the poor is as valuable for what it prevents, as for what it teaches. A boy remains two years at Lancaster's school. What would he have been doing if he had not been there? What sort of habits and principles would he have contracted? Apply this to St Giles, to Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham. In villages, the question, perhaps, is, whether a boy is to be a stupid animal, or an intelligent animal? There, temptations are so few, that his moral and religious character will remain the same; but, in towns, the alternatives are, intelligence and virtue, or ignorance and vice. In such scenes of activity, a child will do and learn *something*. If you do not take care that it is good, he will take care that it is evil. A THOUSAND boys educated in the heart of the metropolis! How is it possible to doubt if such a thing be useful? It is the fashion now to say, that a mode of education is provided by the State, and that children may listen to the oral instructions of clergymen in the pulpit. A clergyman preaches fifteen minutes in a week. Has he the very unusual and valuable talent of commanding attention! Will the church hold the thirtieth or fortieth

tieth part of his parish? If it will hold them, do they come? In the short period dedicated to instruction, can he instruct children of six years old, and grown-up people at the same time? Is this possible? Will he do it, if it is possible?—We really have not the slightest intention of sneering at the exertions of the clergy; it is quite clear, that if their exertions in the pulpit were ten times as great as they are, that no oral instruction, delivered under such circumstances, could possibly supply the place of other education. And when such things are talked of in London, and in large cities, it is really too absurd to merit an answer. When we are availing ourselves of the most recent inventions in every thing else, why are we to revert to the rudest machines in education?

It is said that the poor, proud of their attainments in learning, will no longer submit to the drudgery to which they have been accustomed in their state of ignorance. In the first place, if every body can read, no one will be more proud of reading than they are of walking, now, when every body can walk. But if every poor man in England were as proud as Lucifer, he must either work or starve. Labour depends not upon opinion, but upon the necessity of eating and drinking. Truly miserable indeed would the condition of mankind be, if society were such a *papier maché* machine as these sort of reasoners make it to be,—if, by any change of fashions, men were to cease to resent, or to fear, or to love, or to toil, or to govern. The great passions and appetites are interwoven in our very being; and all the important and indispensible operations of life rest upon the great passions, and are as eternal as the foundations on which they are placed.

Reading multiplies the power of getting at the opinions and arguments of others. In the end, the good opinion, and the sound argument, prevail. The standard books among the poor would not encourage disaffection, but the contrary. Seditious pamphlets would sometimes get among the poor; but they would meet with a firmer body of opinion than they do now; and the common average books would be of a very different description. What is read by the classes immediately above the poor, is neither treason nor impiety. With them, the notions in ordinary circulation, about government and religion, though trite, are, in general, useful, just, and respectable. In the ferment of political opinion, through which we have recently passed, the Scotch, and the people of London and Westminster, were not endangered by their education, nor the Irish protected by their ignorance. The English, rank for rank, are governed with greater justice, and live with greater happiness, than any other people in the world. If this is as true as we belive it to be,

be, why will not such a welcome and important truth be at length diffused by the diffusion of knowledge? What is the dreadful secret the poor are to find out when they have learned to read and write! We have often seen guzzling, semi-inebriated country gentlemen, nod and wink with a very pregnant wisdom, when the education of the poor was mentioned. We bear them no malice for their stupid prejudices, but wish, on the contrary, with the utmost sincerity, that the accomplishments of reading, writing, and cyphering, were more generally diffused among these gentlemen; and that they were taught, by enjoying these blessings themselves, to appreciate them more justly for others.

There are now, perhaps, one million more of persons who can read and write, than there were before the revolution. Has this increase of knowledge produced any increase of disaffection? If ignorance is useful to a state, to what degree is it useful? Or, where has the argument any limit?

The expense of education is not to be mentioned. A boy learns reading, writing, and accounts, for fourteen shillings, who would, in hedge-breaking, or picking pockets, cost the county double the money in the same time.

The investigation might be pushed on to a great length. These are a few of the principal advantages which appear to us to result from education; from which we do not expect miracles, or believe that it would put an end to mendicity, and render the executioner's place a sinecure. But we do most firmly believe, that it may be made the means of rescuing thousands of human beings from vice and misery, of teaching the blessings of rational religion, of improving the character, and increasing the happiness of the lower orders of mankind. And, for these reasons, the cause of education shall never want our feeble aid, nor the friends of it our good word, from the poor Quaker whose system we have described, to the King who has conducted himself towards this deserving man with so much goodness and feeling; and for which thousands of ragged children will pray for him and remember him, long after his Majesty is forgotten by every Lord of the Chamber, and by every Clerk of the Closet.

Thus much for education itself. The manner of introducing it into, and encouraging it in a country, are totally separate questions. How far it may be expedient to provide nationally for the education of the poor, against the prejudices of the upper classes, and without any cordial wish to that purpose on the part of the poor themselves, is doubtful,—if it be possible. At all events, we must express our most sincere regret, that the late plan was ever connected with so many doubtful, and so many complicated measures; and that its worthy author appeared to be so moderately in-

formed on the general subject of the poor, and so little aware of the powerful prejudices which exist against their instruction; for ignorant we must conceive him to have been upon this point, if he supposed it possible to force down so extensive a plan of education over the whole community.

In the year 1797, Dr Bell, a clergyman of the Church of England, published an account of an institution for education at Madras, to which Mr Lancaster is certainly indebted for some very material parts of his improvements—as, in the early editions of his book, he very honestly and plainly owned himself to be. To this valuable information, received from Dr Bell, Mr Lancaster has made important additions of his own, quite enough to entitle him to a very high character for originality and invention. We sincerely hope Dr Bell will not attribute to us the most distant intention of depreciating his labours, when we say that he has by no means taught Mr Lancaster *all*, though he has taught him *much*. We are so far from wishing to undervalue the labours of Dr Bell, that it gives us great pleasure to express our warmest admiration at what he has done for education. He is unquestionably the beginner in an art which we trust will be carried to still greater perfection; and we hope he will reap from his present patron those rewards for which he never could have looked, to which he is eminently entitled, and which, if ever they are bestowed, will honour the giver as much as the receiver.

It has pleased the present Archbishop of Canterbury to establish a large school, for the instruction of the poor of the established church, under the care of Dr Bell. If the thing is done at all,—if the education of the poor goes on,—we are content. We only interfered in the cause to say, education is a great good; and to shelter from calumny a friendless man, who sat himself down (like a drop of healing oil in an ulcer) in the worst parts of the metropolis, to diffuse the word of God, and the rudiments of knowledge among the lowest of mankind. If, in so doing, we have been compelled to treat with severity a lady of real piety and of estimable character, let that lady remember, that had we found her in her own proper department of an instructress of youth, which she has so long and so respectably filled, we could not but have mentioned her with credit, if it had fallen within the plan of our work to mention her at all. But we found her acting the part of a judge and a critic, and above all, of a *religious accuser*,—a part never to be taken up but with extreme reluctance, and exposing him, and still more her, who assumes it, to the most severe responsibility,—a part which, of late years, has been played so often, and paid so well, that it is not respectable even in the hands of so honest and conscientious a person

son as Mrs Trimmer. We have been a little alarmed by observing, that Dr Bell, after all he has wrote and done, calls in question the propriety of teaching the poor to write and to cypher. We hope that he will value his deserved reputation above every thing else, and not lose that originality which has brought him into notice. The sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury may be venerable and respectable—but it is not *sacred*: at least we *believe* this term is never employed upon such occasions.

ART. V. *The Principles of Botany and of Vegetable Physiology, Translated from the German of D. C. Willdenow, Professor of Botany and Natural History at Berlin.* pp. 508. 8vo. W. Blackwood, Edinburgh; and T. Cadell and W. Davies, London. 1805.

WE have not hitherto had any introductory botanical treatise which comprehends all the branches of botanical knowledge. Lee's Introduction to Botany, which has been longest in use in this country, contains merely an explanation of the system of Linnæus, and of the terms employed by him. Berkenhout's Botanical Lexicon, is nothing more than an explanation of the Linnæan terms, arranged in alphabetical order. But the author before us, besides explaining the Linnæan method, and the terms used by its followers, likewise gives a very full account of the different natural and artificial systems that have been proposed by different botanists previous and subsequent to that of the Knight of the Polar Star; together with vegetable physiology, explained according to principles established on the latest discoveries in chemistry; the diseases of plants, and the history of botany. In short, his work, which we understand has superseded all other elementary treatises on the Continent, contains almost every thing connected with botany.

His introduction contains some remarks on the study of botany, together with good and ample directions for forming a *Hortus Siccus*. In his Terminology, he gives a very full enumeration of the various terms used in botany, which are, in general, very well defined, but not so judiciously arranged. He distributes them as they are applicable to the root, the stem, the leaves, the props, the flower and the fruit. Many of the terms that are applicable to one part, may likewise be applied to others; consequently it becomes necessary, not only to repeat the same term under different heads, but likewise to repeat their definitions. Thus we find Multifidum filamentum, when it is divided into many branches;

branches; M. folium, with many clefts, and so on; M. perianthium; M. stigma; M. cirrhus; M. stylus. Simplex, with its definition, occurs no fewer than thirteen times; and there are a great many repetitions of the same nature. This certainly produces one good effect; it adds to the bulk of the book and consequently to the emolument of the book-maker: but does it add to the information, or diminish the trouble, of the student? Botanical terms, even when reduced into the smallest compass, are so very numerous, as to deter beginners of ordinary fortitude from entering on the study. Whatever, therefore, increases the bulk of the Terminology, must add to the apparent difficulty of acquiring them, and tend to disgust the student. Had M. Willdenow given the general terms apart from the special ones, he would have prevented much unnecessary repetition. It sometimes happens, indeed, that the same terms, when applied to different parts, receive a different signification; and, in such cases, a repetition and separate explanation becomes necessary. He has placed the terms which express the *arma* and *pubes* under the head *fulcra*, where few people would think of looking for them; for they are no more props, than they are leaves or branches.

His classification of vegetables, contains a complete account of all the more eminent systems that have been made public, and a good exposition of the Linnæan method which he prefers to all others. He divides botanical systems into Natural, Artificial, and Sexual. we conceive, however, that there are only two, viz. Natural and Artificial. The epithet Sexual, has been applied to the artificial system of Linnæus, by way of distinction; but this cannot alter its nature. The words Willdenow himself makes use of, in describing an artificial system, are, 'Some botanists have founded their systems on the number, proportion and agreement, of minute and not very obvious parts; and such a system has been called 'Artificial.' The Linnæan method, which he wishes to erect into a particular kind of system, is founded on the number, proportion, and agreement, in different particulars, of the parts of generation, which, in most cases, are minute enough: it, therefore, even according to his own definition, can be viewed in no other light than that of an artificial system. His reason for establishing a difference is, that the Linnæan method is partly natural, partly artificial, which is merely an accidental circumstance. There is one mistake he has committed through inadvertence--for it certainly could not proceed from ignorance. When mentioning the distinguishing marks by which the orders are determined (p. 149.) he says, 'The orders of the 15th class are, like the foregoing, taken from the fruit, with this difference, that here there are no naked seeds, but a siliqua; and the orders are named according

cording to the size of this, Siliculosæ and Siliquosæ.' The mere size of the siliquæ by no means determines the orders of this, class, though, from the names affixed to each, it might naturally be supposed to do so; for there are many plants which Linnæus has placed in this order Siliculosæ, which have far larger siliquæ than those that are placed in the order Siliquosæ;—Lunaria, for example. It is the proportion which the length of the germen bears to that of the style, which determines the orders in this class. Those plants, whose germen is short in proportion to the style, are placed in the order Siliculosæ, and *vice versa.*—Under the head, Botanical Aphorisms, he shows the method of acquiring aknowledge of plants,--gives directions for distinguishing and establishing genera,—points out the different characters by which plants are to be described,—and treats of species and varieties, together with the method of ascertaining them. He has given here a table of 36 colours, which has at least novelty to recommend it; for, as far as we know, nothing of the kind has been attempted by any other writer on natural history. It would have a still stronger recommendation, utility, could pigments of sufficient durability be obtained, and were the colours always mixt up according to the same standard for the different copies, and applied with the same attention. But, unfortunately, most of the pigments we possess, particularly those formed of metallic oxides, are liable to change, when exposed to air and light; and the attention necessary to preserve exact uniformity in the tables prepared for the different copies, could not be expected from any artists that might be employed to paint them. These two circumstances might render a table of this kind a source of error; for in copies printed by different hands, and at different periods, dissimilar tints might stand under the same name. Nevertheless, the design is good, and may be usefully employed to explain what colour is meant to be denoted by the different Latin words employed in natural history. Even when the primary colours are known, an idea of the intermediate shades is imperfectly conveyed by words, but they are easily described to the eye. Both methods have been adopted by Willdenow; for in the explanation of his table he gives a verbal description, which, to make the matter still surer, is frequently illustrated by examples painted by nature.

In his Nomenclature of Vegetables, he has laid down a great many regulations for imposing names on plants. Had something of the same kind been done earlier, botany would not only have rested on a more stable foundation, but botanical language would have been renderered less harsh than it is at present. When the name of any thing is undetermined and unsettled, the knowldge of

of the thing itself is in danger of being lost. The old botanists were not much concerned about preserving the names of plants; for almost every author gave them new ones; on which account, many were disgusted with the barbarous, dry, and unfixed nomenclature which prevailed, and declined entering on the study of the most beautiful objects of nature. But, by the introduction of fixed and generally received names, botanists are now able to make themselves understood wherever botany is known. Tournefort first fixed the generic names; but, instead of specific names, gave only short descriptions. Linnæus, who has contributed more to the advancement of this science than any other man, not only employed generic names, but affixed to each species its trivial name. M. Willdenow objects to long names; to those taken from foreign languages; to those which are already appropriated to animals or fossils; and to those borrowed from religious, moral, anatomical, pathological, geographical, or such subjects: but he wishes the generic name to be taken from the general properties or resemblances of the genus, and to have them formed from the Greek language with a Latin termination, or from the name of some eminent botaninst, likewise latinized. Names, however, derived from this last source, are, we think, frequently both harsh and long; such as, Buxbaumia, Gleditschia, Hasselquistia, &c. The specific name is commonly an adjective, expressive of some property of the plant, but should not be taken from properties liable to variation, such as colour. Willdenow objects to substantives as specific names; but we think that no solid objections can be made to Pyrus *malus*, Prunus *cerasus*, Brassica *rapa*, and many others. Some do not approve of the Linnæan method of denoting every plant by a generic and specific name, because genera are only invented by botanists, and have no real existence in nature. Ehrhart, on this account, in his Phytophylaceum, has proposed to distinguish every plant by a single word; but what memory could contain the names of all the plants already known, which amount to nearly 80,000 species, formed into about 2,000 genera? Wolf has proposed to denote every character of a plant by a particular letter, and of these to form the name of the plant. Were this plan to be adopted, such harsh words would be formed, such concurrence of consonants take place, as would render it difficult, if not altogether impossible, for Mr Wolf himself to get his mouth about them.

The Physiology of Vegetables contains a multiplicity of articles, most of which are treated very correctly, and briefly enough; indeed, sometimes a little too much so. He begins with the different powers of organized bodies, and with the anatomy of vegetables. There is one opinion he advances, to which we can by no means

means subscribe. He says (p. 228.) 'If we put the seeds of an annual plant into the ground, plants grow from them, which soon flower, produce seed, and then die.'---'The buds of trees and shrubs are to be considered as annual plants; for, as soon as they have blossomed and shed their seeds, they decay entirely.' This is certainly not the case; for the far greater number of the buds of trees and shrubs produce branches which remain for years.

We shall give what he says (p. 229.) on the chemical principles of vegetables, as a specimen of the method in which he treats his subject.

'The chief vegetable principles are,

'1. Caloric, is present in all parts of vegetables, and constitutes their temperature when free.

'2 Light, is found in the oils and other inflammable vegetable substances.

'3 The electric fluid, shows itself by various electrical phenomena observed in plants.

'4. Carbon, is the chief constituent part of all vegetables.

'5. Hydrogen, this may easily be obtained in a gazeous form, combined with caloric, from all liguminous plants.

'6. Oxygen is, we shall soon find, evolved by the rays of the sun. Part of it, however, is combined with acidifiable bases, and forms vegetable acids.

'7. Azote, is exhaled by plants in the night: the greatest part of it, however, is in a combined state. Whether azote belongs to the simple substances, (elements) or, as Goettling supposes, is a compound of oxygen and light, we must leave to the future decision of chemists. At present, we shall consider it as a simple substance.

'8 Phosphorus, occurs in plants of the 15th class, and in the gramina. Its existence manifestly appears by the shining of old rotten wood, the root of the common Tormentilla recta, and rotten potatoes, Solanum tuberosum.

'9. Sulphur, in form of acid combined with oxygen, is met with in many plants, either with potass forming a sulphat of potass, or with soda, as sulphat of soda. Even in substance, sulphur has been found in the roots of the Rumex patientia. After they were cut down, boiled, and scummed, sulphur appeared in the scum when left to settle.

'11 Soda, is peculiar to almost all plants growing on sea shores or in salt marshes.

'12 Silica, is found in the stem of the Bambusa arundenacea, and in the common reed, Arundo phragmites. It is supposed to exist in the alder, Betula alnus, and birch, Betula alba, as their wood often emits sparks when under the hands of the turner.

'13. Alumina, it is said, has been found in some plants.

'14. Magnesia, some philosophers think they have met with likewise.

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'15. Barytes, is chiefly obvious in grasses.

'16. Lime, is found in almost all vegetables, most frequently in Chara tomentosa, a pound of which is said to contain five ounces of it.

'17. Iron is detected in the ashes of most plants.

'18. Manganese, has likewise been sometimes found in plants.'

There is added in a note,

'If some have detected gold in the vine, Vitis vinifera; oak, Quercus robur; hornbeam, Carpinus betulus; or in ivy, Hedera helix; and tin in Spanish broom, Spartium junceum; it seems merely to have been accidentally, as their presence has been stated as impossible by late experiments. Of the above principles No 1—7, and 10, 16, and 17, are found in all plants; the rest only in some. The Fungi, especially the genera Petziza, Octospera and Byssus have, according to the latest researches, not a vestige of lime.

'All the now enumerated principles which have been found in vegetables, belong, as far as chemical knowledge has advanced, to the elementary or simple substances. The vital power produces, by mixing them, new formed substances.'

These, however, we must omit for want of room. Among these new productions he mentions Wax. His words are—(p. 231.)

'Wax is likewise found in the fruits of some plants, *ex. gr.* of the laurel (Laurus nobilis), and of the Myrica cerifera, and others. We have it in the pollen of all flowers; and accordingly bees prepare their wax from it.'

The substance obtained from the Myrica cerifera is by no means the same with bees wax; nor do bees form their wax from the pollen of flowers. From a set of comparative experiments instituted by Dr Bostock, on myrtle wax, *i. e.* the substance obtained from the Myrica cerifera, bees wax, spermaceti, adipocire, and the crystaline matter of biliari calculi, * it appears that myrtle wax differs from bees wax in specific gravity and in its habitudes, with a variety of reagents. The ingenious and decisive experiments of M. Hubert, have proved, in a very satisfactory manner, that bees form their wax from honey, or any saccharine matter, and that they collect and store up the pollen of flowers, only as food for their larvæ.

It would have been satisfactory to many of his readers, had he mentioned the experiments on which some of his assertions are founded; or, if this would have occupied too much room, he might have mentioned the authors from whom he had drawn his information. He has abridged the chemical part very much where facts might have been adduced; and extended other parts where nothing but vague hypothesis can be advanced.

After giving the chemical principles of plants, and the substances

* *Vide* Nicholson's Journal for March 1803.

ces formed by their combination, he proceeds with the different vessels of plants, *viz.* air and lymphatic vessels, the cellular texture, the sap, and their transpiring pores. Where he treats of these, we find, in page 243, a blunder which must have escaped either the author or translator: *cubic* has been used instead of *square*. He says, 'Hedwig counted in the Lillium bulbiferum, in one surface of a single leaf, 577 apertures in one cubic line. A cubic foot would therefore, according to this observation, have about 998,145 apertures.' The calculation, too, if it has been made according to the table given in page 10, is incorrect. After discussing the temperature and phenomena of the germination of plants, he proceeds to the structure of their different parts. In mentioning the structure of the bud, p. 273, he says, 'Each bud unfolds a branch with leaves, which, at the base of each peteole, again produce buds. In this manner their growth continues. But this evolution of buds from buds would continue without stopping, were it not so regulated that each bud, as soon as the blossoms and fruits are perfectly formed, decays.' We confess we do not understand what he means by this, unless he means to assert what has no foundation in nature. He advances something to the same purpose, when treating of the structure of vegetables, near the commencement of his physiology; against which we have already entered our protest. We shall now give our reasons. Every branch that proceeds from a bud, produces one or more buds at the axilla of each of its leaves, which may be either flower buds or branch buds, according to the age and vigour, or nature of the tree; for there are some trees which produce their flowers in buds distinct from those which produce branches, and others that do not. The peach, the cherry, the lilac, and many other trees and shrubs, may be given as examples of the former: in these, the flower buds, after fructification has been completed, die, but do not occasion the death of the branch on which they stand; and, so anxious has Nature been for the production of branches, that it very often happens, in trees of this kind, that a branch bud is found in the axilla of the same leaf, with one or two flower buds. Of the latter, many examples may be given; some of which produce their flowers from the sides of their branches, *ex. gr.* the Vine and Passion flower: In these, the peduncle only dies after the decay of the flower, or ripening of the fruit; but the branch from which they proceed continues to grow. Others produce their flowers at the extremity of the young branch, *ex. gr.* the Rose: in these, the flower, with its peduncle and part of the extremity of the branch, only decay; but the under part of the branch, where completely formed leaves have stood, continues to live, and is capable of producing branches.

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The formation of the leaves, the inhalation and exhalation of plants, the circulation of their sap, the sleep of vegetables, their green colour and inclination towards the light, the duration and decay of the leaves, and the evolution of the flower, successively occupy his attention. On most of these subjects we find much reasoning, and not a little hypothesis; but not so many facts adduced in support of some of his assertions, as we think necessary to produce conviction.

When speaking of the food of plants, (p. 281.) he says,—

'The chief food of plants consists of carbon and hydrogen; the hollow air vessels carry the oxygen gas, which was formed during the day, out of the plant; and in the night time, when the rays of the sun are wanting to evolve more oxygen gas, they exhale, through the pores of the cutis, carbonic acid gas, which they received from the ground, and which, for want of light, they could not keep fixed.'

This is not enough for one unacquainted with the subject; and one who knows something of it, knows that there is a difference of opinion concerning the food of plants, and therefore would expect something more than bare assertion. Besides, the subject merits more attention; for the knowledge of what constitutes the food of plants, may be useful to the practical agriculturist, as well as the student of botany.

He treats very fully of the impregnation and generation of plants, a subject which merits more attention than is generally paid to it. Many are disposed to doubt the sexes of plants altogether; and few of those who are convinced of its existence, have thought of turning their knowledge of it to account. We are persuaded, many good varieties, both of ornamental and useful vegetables, might be obtained, by impregnating one plant with the farina of another nearly allied to it. Thus, a native vegetable might be impregnated with the farina of a species, the inhabitant of a warmer climate, possessed of superior qualities, and a hybrid be produced, possessing some of the properties of its exotic parent, and yet hardy enough to endure a severer climate. Vegetables producing fruit or roots of superior size, but defective in point of flavour, sweetness, or nutritive properties, might be improved by commixture with other varieties or species possessed of these qualities, but deficient in point of size.

Empedocles and Anaxagoras attributed sexes to vegetables; and Theophrastus takes notice of the difference of sex in the Coryza and some other plants, and says that the fruit of the Palm will not germinate unless the flowers of the male be shaked over the spadix of the female. But the notion which the ancients had of the difference of sex in plants, was by no means accurate. Pliny, in particular, sometimes mistakes the male for the female, and calls plants

plants male and female, which are hermaphrodite. Sir Thomas Millington was the first who fixed on the stamina as the male organ, and pistillum as the female. From that time the existence or nonexistence of sexes in vegetables, has been a matter of controversy among botanists. To enumerate all the arguments that have been employed by the advocates on both sides, and the experiments on which they were founded, would both be tedious and unnecessary; since the production of vegetable hybrids, by impregnating one species with the farina of another, (an experiment which has frequently been repeated), has not only proved the existence of sex in vegetables beyond controversy, but has shown the particular kind of generation which takes place in them.

M. Willdenow, after taking notice of the principal theories of generation that have been proposed, proceeds to give his opinions of each of them. We shall pass what he says of Equivocal generation, because it has been long exploded.

Of the Animalcular system, he says (p. 325.)

'The theory of Animalcula in the semen of animals being carried over to the ovarium of the mother, where the new animal is formed, has Leuwenhoeck for its author. Some, therefore, in the vegetable kingdom, assumed preexisting germs or corcles in the pollen, which, in the mother's ovaries, unfolded themselves into the future plant. A very zealous supporter of this opinion, was Mr Gleichen. Some even went so far as to see, under the microscope, small asses in the semen of an ass, and small lime trees in the pollen of a lime. Strange things may be seen, if persons are disposed to see them. Koelreuter's observations, of which immediately, at once overthrow this doctrine.

'The system of preformation, which in former times was much in vogue, is not, even by its most zealous admirers, much insisted on in the vegetable kingdom. Spallanzani, who, in animals, by means of tedious experiments, attempted to prove the preexistence of the animal before the impregnation of the ovum in the ovaries, sincerely confesses, that there is no preexistence of vegetables like that in animals.

'The *Epigenesis*, or generation by a commixtion of the fluids given out both by the male and female, is what most physiologists now assume as the only true theory of generation, both in the animal and vegetable kingdom. Koelreuter confirmed it by numerous experiments, of which we shall mention only one. He took of the genus Nicotiana, the Nicotiana rustica and paniculata. The first he deprived of all its stamens, and fecundated its pistil with pollen of the last species. Nicotiana rustica has egg-shaped leaves, and a short greenish yellow corol; Nicotiana paniculata, a stem half as long again as the former, and roundish cordate leaves, and much longer yellowish green corols. The bastard offspring of both, kept in all its parts the middle betwixt the two species. He tried the same with more plants, and the result accorded perfectly with the first.

'Were we therefore to admit the *animalcula seminalia*, the hybrids could not necessarily have differed in form from the male plant; and, on the other hand, were the evolution system founded in nature, they would have the same form as the female plant. The hybrid, however, was a medium between both; it certainly, therefore, adopted some parts both from the father and mother, and was formed by Epigenesis.

'Koelreuter, however, could only obtain hybrids by intermixing similar plants. Dissimilar plants never produced them, even though, according to our systems, they belonged to one genus. It appears that nature thus avoids unnatural mixtures.

'The instance of mules not generating, as it was once believed at least, induced many philosophers to make it an axiom, that hybrids are barren. But we now know a good many instances in zoology, of hybrids being very productive; and even the instance of mules does not prove any thing, as in warm climates they are sometimes prolific. Koelreuter likewise found hybrids of various species of tobacco, and some more plants, to be sterile; the pistil in them being very perfect, but the stamens not completely formed. But there are now several instances of hybrid plants which retain their original form, and propagate themselves. I shall only mention a few, with their parents.

'Sorbus hybrida; the mother was Sorbus aucuparia, and the father Cratœgus aria.

'Pyrus hybrida; the mother was Pyrus arbutifolia, and the father Sorbus aucuparia.

'Rhamnus hybridus; the mother was Rhamnus alpinus, and the father Rhamnus Alaternus.

'What mixtures do not the species of Pelargonium produce in our gardens? All plants of the 21st, 22d, and 23d classes of Linnæus mostly generate prolific hybrids. Linnæus wrote a particular treatise on hybrids, in which he attempted to explain the origin of some particular plants; but unfortunately he has given nothing but hypothesis, his observations not according with experience. Should it not, from the observations made with regard to the hybrids of the animal and vegetable world, be laid down as a rule, admitting some exceptions, that all hybrids are productive, but that some only want a warm climate to unfold the male semen? I do not attempt to establish this rule as quite certain: I should be happy, on the contrary, would philosophers consider this subject more accurately, and attend more to the hybrids of different climates, on purpose to settle the point.

'But Koelreuter made some experiments, which put the doctrine of *Epigenesis* beyond all doubt. I shall only mention one of his observations as an instance. He obtained, as we have seen, a hybrid from the Nicotiana rustica and paniculata. Nicotiana rustica was the female plant, and paniculata the male. The hybrid, like all the others which he brought up, had imperfect stamens, and kept the middle between the two species. He afterwards impregnated this hybrid with Nicotiana paniculata, and got plants which much more resembled the last. This

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he continued through several generations; till, in this way, by due perseverance, he actually changed the Nicotiana rustica into the Nicotiana paniculata. By these and other experiments often repeated, and made in various ways, and upon other plants, it seems clearly established, that there is no preformation in plants.

'According to the theory of Epigenesis, then, the fluids of the male and female are mixed, and an offspring is obtained from these two, which, in form and properties, resembles both father and mother.'

In all vegetable hybrids, some of the features of both parents are certainly to be recognized; but the male influence seems to predominate in such as we have had an opportunity of examining. The hybrids produced by impregnating the *Papaver Somniferum* with the farina of the *Papaver Orientale*, are so very similar to their male parent, as scarcely to be distinguished; the only circumstance in which they resemble the female plant, is a slight tendency to produce more flowers than one on a stalk, which the P. somniferum commonly does, but which never takes place in the P. orientale. This circumstance ought to be attended to by those who wish to make improvements by impregnating one plant with the farina of another.

He gives a very minute account of the diseases of plants, their causes and remedies, which he divides into two classes, *external* and *internal*; to some of the latter, he has affixed very fanciful names. Medical men will smile to see, *Chlorosis*, *Icterus*, and *Anasarca*, constitute part of the Vegetable Nosology.

When plants become pale from want of light, from defect of nourishment, in bad soil, or from injury received from insects, he terms it *Chlorosis*. To the natural decay of the leaves in autumn, he has given the name of *Icterus*, on account of the yellow colour the leaves assume at that period;—this is very puerile. A similar fanciful analogy has induced him to give the name of *Anasarca* to the redundant moisture that is perceived in vegetables during wet weather, or in such as have grown in a moister soil than is natural to them. Many of his observations, however, on the diseases of vegetables, and their remedies, are good.

In his history of Plants, he treats of the influence of climate upon vegetation, of the changes which plants have most probably suffered during the various revolutions this earth has undergone, of their dissemination over the globe, of their migrations, and, lastly, of the manner in which nature has provided for their preservation. Many of his observations are intimately connected with certain geological opinions which he entertains, and which he has stated very fully, when speaking of the changes that have taken place in the vegetable kingdom, in consequence of the various revolutions our globe has undergone. We shall give part of what he says (p. 382.) on this subject.

'In plains which contain a number of sea productions, and in floet mountains which have the petrifactions of the continent, and of the sea over various zones, we meet with plants which bear seeds, and send their roots deep into the ground, as if they had grown there for ages. But experience tells us, that they could not have originally grown at those spots. In the primitive mountains only, we may suspect that every thing remains unaltered, as their foundations never suffered from the gnawing tooth of time.

'We find that mountainous countries are richer in plants than flat countries; and that, in primitive mountains, the number of plants exceeds that of the floetz mountains. A country, consisting of primitive rocks, has plants which other mountainous countries do not possess. In all plains of the same latitude, however far they may extend, the same plants always occur, only with some little varieties, which depend on the difference of the soil. In primitive rocks, and at their foot, we again meet with all the plants of flat countries. Wherever primitive rocks surround a plain country, we find all the plants of this at their root, and even at their summits. But, after ascending and descending the opposite side, we find a different vegetation, which again extends as far as the next mountainous chain. The list of plants of the different countries in Europe, and other parts of the globe, will be of great service to us to prove this fact. Now, who will doubt, that all the plants of flat countries, which were formed at a later period, came from the high mountains; and that the primitive mountains of our globe were the chief sources, as it were, of the floras of different countries? Hence America is so full of plants; because, from the north pole to the south, high mountainous chains, with numberless intermediate branches, intersect it. Hence, Canada produces different plants from Pennsylvania; this again from Virginia; this again different plants from Carolina; and Carolina from Florida, &c. Hence the north-west coast of North America produces plants which totally differ from those of the north-east coast; the south-west coast different plants from those of the south-east. Islands which are quite flat, have all the plants of the neighbouring continent; but if they are surrounded by high mountains, many quite peculiar plants are to be found in them. It would appear from these facts, that the vegetable kingdom did not suffer materially from all those very violent catastrophes. Perhaps those changes took place only gradually; and several thousands of years, if not more, elapsed before all things came to that state in which we find them.'

A number of pages are occupied with speculations of this sort, to all of which we certainly cannot subscribe; yet they evince much ingenuity, and prove, that M. Willdenow has taken a comprehensive view of nature. After enumerating a variety of causes, which have contributed to the dissemination of vegetables, and, among the rest, the share which men have had in transporting them from one region to another, he proceeds, (p. 402.) to illustrate the opinions he has advanced, by the difference which he thinks

thinks observable in the plants which are to be met with in different tracts of Europe.

'From what has been said, it follows, that, after such various and manifold changes, it would be very difficult to fix accurately the point from whence each plant originally came. We shall, however, endeavour to make some general remarks, with regard to the plants of our part of the globe, and their most probable dissemination, as we are better acquainted with this part, especially the northern countries, than with others. Greece only we must exclude at present, as we know nothing at all of its botany. Its flora, however, seems to come from the mountains of Sardinia, from the coasts of Asia and Africa, and from the islands in the Archipelago.

'We suppose, then, that plants are disseminated from the highest mountains towards the flat countries; and, according to this supposition, establish five principal floras in Europe, viz. the Northern flora, the Helvetic, the Austrian, the Pyrenean, and the Appeninian floras. The *Northern flora* originates in the mountains of Norway, Sweden, and Lapland. All these nourish the same plants, which grow in the highest north. Scotland, with its mountains, appears to have cohered once with those of Norway, as both have nearly the same plants. The *Helvetic flora* originates in the mountains of Switzerland, Bavaria, and Tyrol. The mountains of Dauphiny, as well as those in Bohemia and Siberia, are only lateral branches of the same chain. All have a great number of plants in common. The *Austrian flora* originates in the Alps of Austria, Krain, Karinthia, and Steyermark. The Karpathians are a side branch of those. The *Pyrenean flora* originates in the Pyrenees; the mountains of Catalonia, Castilia, and Valentia, are its branches. The *Appeninian flora* originates in the Appenines, which send out many side branches.

'If we take the lists of the plants of these five floras, we will find the most marked difference.

'It follows, at the same time, that various commixtures of these floras, after the continent was formed and variously cohering, must have taken place. Hence is southern France, where the Helvetic and Pyrenean floras combine, so rich in plants. Hence, in Piedmont, the floras of the Pyrenees, of Helvetia, and the Appenines, mix among each other, whither likewise the sea has carried many plants of Northern Africa. Hence, Great Britain has partly the Northern, partly the Helvetic flora; and, in the southern extremity of that kingdom, in Cornwall, some plants of the Pyrenean flora, on account of the neighbourhood of Spain, appear among the rest. Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, have not retained the Northern flora unmixed; they have got many plants of the Helvetic flora. The same is the case with Germany, especially in our Brandenburgh, which has, besides the Helvetic flora, got part of the Northern.'

When facts occur, which militate against his opinions, like other proposers of theories, he is willing to doubt (p. 398,) the accuracy of the observations on which they are founded.

'Swarts discovered no European alpine plants in the mountains of Jamaica, but a good number of our mosses; for instance, Funaria hygrometrica; Bryum serpillifolium, cæspititium; Sphagnum palustre; Dicranum glaucum, and many more. We know, that the seeds of mosses are so minute, that a single seed escapes our view, and can only be observed with a considerable magnifying microscope. Should they not, as it is certain that they are suspended in the atmosphere, have been driven there by storms, and, as the climate was suitable, have germinated? At least this seems to be the only way of explaining this singular phenomenon. But when Messrs Forsters met, in the Tierra del Fuego, with Pinguicula alpina, Gallium aparine, Statice armeria, and Ranunculus lapponicus, it would certainly be very difficult to say, how those plants came to such a remote quarter of the globe. Perhaps the great likeness between the European and Southern plants misled these great philosophers, though there might be distinguishing marks, which, however, the two gentlemen, firmly believing them to be our European species, did not attend to.'

His history of the science should rather be called a Biography of Botanists; for he seems more anxious to tell us, where and when they were born, what accidents befel them in life, and when they died, than to inform us what they have done to promote botanical knowledge. He certainly mentions all the principal discoveries in botany, very regularly arranged, but encumbered with much extraneous matter. We extract the following account of Clusius, (p. 421.) with whom he concludes his second epoch; an unfortunate mortal, who seems to have encountered as many hardships as ever befel the Knight of La Mancha.

'Charles Clusius, or Charles de l'Ecluse, was born at Artois, or Atrecht, in the Netherlands, 1526. His parents wished him to become a lawyer, and he went with this design to Leowen. But he soon changed his mind, and, from his great love to botany, soon undertook the most tedious and troublesome journies, through Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Hungary. In his 24th year, he already became dropsical; of which, however, he was cured, by the use of cichories, recommended to him by the famous physician Rondeletius. In his 39th year, in Spain, he broke his right arm close above the elbow, falling with his horse; and, soon after, he had the same accident with his right thigh. In his 55th year, in Vienna, he sprained his left foot; and, eight years afterwards, dislocated his hip. This last dislocation was overlooked by his physician; and he had the misfortune to walk for the remainder of his life on crutches. The great pain and difficulty he had thus to suffer when walking, prevented him from taking the necessary exercise; in consequence of which he was affected with a hernia, obstructions in his abdomen, and calculous complaints. Thus miserable and unhealthy, tired of the court of the Emperor, where he had resided for fourteen years past, and finding, besides, the superintendance over the gardens there too great a burden, he accept-

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ed in the year 1593, an invitation as professor at Leyden, where he died April 6. 1609. Clusius was the greatest genius of his age, and prosecuted the study of botany with an enthusiastic zeal, and a perseverance, which was not equalled by any preceding philosophers, nor by any of his followers. His works show us the great botanist; and they will always remain valuable and indispensably necessary. The cuts annexed to them are neat, the figures distinct, and his descriptions masterly. It was a pity that a man of so great merit should have suffered so much, and even become the first martyr for botany.'

From this specimen, our readers may judge, whether we have done wrong or otherwise, in saying that the history was misnamed; they may likewise judge, what proportion the botanical information contained in this extract bears to the irrelevant matter with which it is connected.

Upon the whole, however, it is our duty to say, that the same diligence and judgment is displayed in this volume, that we already have had occasion to ascribe to M. Willdenow, when pronouncing our opinion of his edition of the Species Plantarum of Linnæus; and we venture, without hesitation, to recommend the Principles of Botany and Vegetable Physiology, to those who wish to become acquainted with the science, as the most complete introductory treatise on the subject hitherto published.

The translator seems to have understood the subject; for the language he employs is in general correct. In the Terminology, however, an attempt to translate one word of Latin into one word of English, has led him to make use of some rather awkward expressions; *e. g. præmorsum* is translated *bitten*; the word, however, we conceive, signifies somewhat more than bitten, *i. e* something bitten before or towards the point; thus, præmorsum folium, or præmorsa radix, (for both are given, and the same definition is repeated to each) signifies a leaf or root, that terminates so abruptly, as to seem to have its point or extremity bitten off. Were the bare word *bitten* to be employed to express *præmorsum*, and any one to talk of a bitten leaf, or bitten root, he would be but ill understood by the bulk of his hearers. Both *fistularis* and *concavus* are translated *hollow*: the same expressions should not have been employed to express two terms so very distinct, particularly as *concave* is so well naturalized as to become a denizen in the English language.

Flos multiplicatus, is improperly translated a double flower, and *flos plenus* a full flower. When a flower makes an approach to become double, that is, when its petals are double, treble, &c. the usual number, provided they do not entirely occupy the place of the stamina and pistillum, it is called a semi-double flower *(flos multiplicatus)*; when the petals are so numerous as to leave no room for stamina and pistillum, a double flower is formed *(flos*

plenus.) These two expressions of semidouble, and double flower, are not only understood by botanists and florists, but are so well established as to be very generally understood; but a full flower by no means expresses what is meant by *flos plenus.*

ART. VI. *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples; and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a Description of the principal Places in that Route, and Remarks on the present Natural and Political State of those Countries.* By Robert Semple, author of "Walks and Sketches at the Cape," &c. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 484. London. Baldwin. 1807.

WE have repeatedly had occasion to remark, that the world is laid under great obligations to those who, in the pursuit of some professional object, visit foreign countries, and afterwards deliver to the public, in a plain unambitious manner, the result of the inquiries which they may have incidentally been led to make during their excursions. From this class of writers, we cannot certainly expect such full and valuable information as we are entitled to require of professed travellers. But they are exceedingly useful, and merit every encouragement, because the stuff of which they are made exists at all times in great abundance, and is to be found during a period peculiarly unfavourable to the production of the other class.—In order to contribute our humble share to this object, we have made it a rule, not indeed to praise their publications indiscriminately, but to bestow an unusual degree of attention upon them, as soon as they appeared; and, in pursuance of this plan, we hasten to make our readers acquainted with the work now before us, which belongs to the same description.

Mr Semple, though an English merchant, was born in America, and this circumstance enabled him to travel, in 1805 and 1806, over countries from which British subjects, in general, were excluded. His tour comprehended some of the most interesting parts of Europe, many of which were, at that time, the seat of war; and although his professional avocations both shortened his stay in places which it would have been peculiarly important to examine, and prevented him from employing, in the manner most profitable to his readers, the time which he did devote to matters of mere curiosity, yet he has, in general, observed well what he saw, and he delivers his remarks, for the most part, like a sensible man. His book is accordingly both instructive and entertaining, and leaves us only the more cause to regret that

that his other pursuits should have circumscribed it within such narrow limits,—obliging him to pass over, almost in silence, several of the chief objects of attention. Nor let any one detract from this praise, by suggesting that it would be difficult to describe a journey through such countries as Spain and Italy, without affording amusement and information. This difficulty has been often surmounted, like other obstacles in the way of the adventurous traveller. Mr Lemaistre and Mr William Hunter made no more of it than they would of a steep hill or a rough ferry; and even Mr Kotzebue contrived to get almost entirely the better of it, although in his case the effort must have been far more painful.

Mr Semple's passage to Lisbon, and his residence there, afforded few occurrences worthy of attention. About the middle of July 1805, he set off for Madrid, by the way of Badajos, travelling post; that is to say, riding almost day and night on post-horses, which are changed at each stage. As the manner of travelling, and the accommodation at the inns, were almost the only subjects which a journey of this sort could introduce to our author, we have a very accurate and lively account of them. The following description of a Portuguese *venta* or inn, may satisfy our readers probably better than if they had tried the reality. It appears, however, to be a favourable specimen of the accommodation in that country, and, as we shall presently see, far superior to any thing which the neighbouring kingdom has to boast of.

'It was ten o'clock before we could leave Arrayolos, and the sun began already to be very hot. We descended the hill, and, after riding a few miles, the country assumed a different aspect from what we had yet seen; the mountains rising in a rounder form, and beginning to be covered with trees to their summits. It was past mid-day before we reached La Venta del Duque, a distance of three leagues. We found it to be a single house, without a village or hamlet near it, and upwards of a mile from the post-house, which also stood alone on the top of a hill. As the heat, however, was now excessive, without the smallest breeze, we determined to remain a few hours, and accordingly entered the house, which I will describe. A single room or hall occupied all the lower part, unfloored, and serving as a retreat both to the family and their poultry, which were perched all round. At one end a seat was built along the wall, and corresponding to it, a low table like that which hermits are represented as using, but formed of bricks and mortar instead of turf. On the opposite side of this immoveable table, great pieces of cork supplied the place of stools, which, when we tried to lift them, surprised us by their lightness. On a large open fireplace stood two or three small narrow necked earthen jars, which formed the whole kitchen apparatus, and this completes the furniture of the lower

lower room. The space above stairs was divided into several apartments, furnished with mats, and one or two mattresses for strangers to sleep on; and one room locked up contained the wealth of the family. Having signified our wish to eat, two fowls were instantly killed, stripped, cut into pieces, and put into one of the narrow-necked jars with a little water and other ingredients. The jar was then placed on the hearth, and hot embers swept round the bottom of it; and this was the whole process of cooking. Meantime we lay down to sleep, and, when called to our meal, found all the riches of the house displayed. Our table was spread with a clean napkin, two earthen plates, one silver, and some wooden spoons, and a pitcher of tolerable wine. Hunger made us, perhaps, esteem the Portuguese cookery more highly than we might otherwise have done; for we finished the contents of our jar, and agreed in calling them excellent. The heat of the day being past, we prepared to mount our horses, and, greatly exhilirated by a comfortable meal, and a draught of wine, where we had expected to find little or nothing, pursued our journey towards Estremoz.' Vol. I. p. 27. 30.

Upon arriving at Madrid, our traveller orders his postillion to stop at the hotel called *La Crus de Malta;* and remarks, somewhat affectedly, 'Each of my travelling companions has houses and friends to repair to; but I am a stranger, and alone, and I go to La Cruz de Malta;' which is certainly a pathetic consideration, and yet we own it does not very deeply move us. At Madrid he remained several weeks, and made excursions into the neighbourhood, for the purpose of visiting Toledo, St Ildefonso, the Escurial, &c. His descriptions both of the capital and of those interesting spots, are extremely good; but we shall content ourselves with extracting his account of the *Prado,* which cannot fail to strike the reader as given in a sufficiently picturesque manner.

'The prado is admirable in all its parts, being a broad walk, adorned with handsome fountains, and divided into avenues by rows of trees; it bounds the whole of one side of the town, being terminated at each end by one of the gates of the city. The streets leading down to it are the broadest and finest in Madrid, and on the opposite side are the gardens, pleasure-grounds, and palace of the Retiro, worthy of the residence of a prince, although at present only used by the King as a shooting ground during his stay at Madrid. The fountains of the prado are in general formed after antique models, and the water of one of them is the purest in the whole city, and the only kind of which the present king drinks, water being his sole beverage. One very broad walk adorned with these fountains, is thronged every fine evening with the best company; and on Sundays, the king, queen, and royal family, ride up and down the carriage road, and salute the people constantly as they pass. It is on the prado that the stranger may study with advantage the dress, the air, and the gait of the Spaniards; for then all pass in review before him, from the prince to the beggar. The nobleman alights from

from his carriage, and saunters among the throng, seemingly carless about his fine dress, and the ornaments at his button-hole, although nobody glances at them so often as himself; the citizen dresses in the mode general thoughout Europe thirty years ago; whilst the lower classes that venture on the prado, still wear their clothes thrown over the shoulder, and thus preserve the last reliques of the ancient toga. All the men wear large cocked hats, and all smoke cigars; for this latter purpose boys run up and down the prado with a kind of slow torch, which burns without flaming, and serves to light the cigars. In opposition to them, water-carriers, with their porous, earthen vases and goblets, vend the cool water of the neighbouring fountains; and the various cries of fire, fire, and fresh water, water, are heard above the buzz of the mingled crowd. But the women principally attract the eyes of the stranger. Their simple and elegant dress, their veils, which serve any purpose but that of concealing their faces, the freedom of their walk, and their looks, attractive but not immodest, tend to make an Englishman forget for a moment that they are greatly inferior in point of real beauty to the women of his own country.

'There is one custom which pleased me much, and which no where produces so striking an effect as on the prado. Exactly at sunset, the bells of the churches and convents give the signal for repeating the evening prayer to the Virgin. In an instant the busy multitude is hushed and arrested as if by magic. The carriages stop, the women veil their faces with their fans, the men take off their hats, and all breathe out, or are supposed to breathe, a short prayer to the protecting Power which has brought them to the close of another day. After a short, a solemn, and not an unpleasing pause, the men bow and put on their hats, the women uncover their faces, the carriages drive on, and the whole crowd is again in motion as before. This is one of the few Catholic customs which appears to partake of piety without superstition, and divested of altars, candlesticks, tapers and images.' I. p. 59—62.

Mr Semple left Madrid on the 22d of October, on his way to Cadiz and Gibraltar. Having heard, before his departure, that positive orders had arrived for the combined fleets to sail and attack the English squadron, he was exceedingly anxious to see the battle, or, at any rate, to learn the event of it; and he performed the journey as before, on post-horses. The following short extract gives a fair description of a Spanish inn.

'We reached Ocana, a village on the top of a steep hill two leagues from Aranjuez. It being now quite dark, and the storm continuing, I determined to remain here till day-break. As I had formed no expectations, I was not chagrined to find so few comforts in a Spanish inn. Although drenched to the skin, so that even my boots were filled with water, here was no cheerful fire, no clean room, no ready attendant. On each side of a large fire-place, sat an old woman and her daughter cowring over two or three smoky bundles of wet brushwood; a chair, a table, and a small glimmering lamp formed the furniture; and here was all

all to which I had to look for comfort for the night. The old woman, however, received me very kindly, and shewed me to a room, which, though also floored with earth like the kitchen, was better furnished, and provided with a bed. While I here changed my dress, she prepared my supper, which consisted of eggs fried in lamp oil, and, together with coarse bread and garlic, formed a mess which a long fast and a ride of forty miles made me relish. When I was just ready to choke with thirst, my kind hostess again appeared, and set before me a small pitcher of wine, to wash down this precious composition. This formed my sole companion till I chose to go to rest, when behold an alarming circumstance, and which might make a figure in romance. On removing a mat which lay at the bedside, I found that it served to cover a hole; the entrance, as I saw by the help of my lamp, to a long dark vault. This, thought I immediately, is to answer two purposes; first, for the murderers to come unawares upon the poor sleeper, and then to cast his body into. After some pause, I covered the hole as before, and then piled up all the chairs in the room upon it, in such a manner, that with the least motion they must have fallen; then, having bolted the door, I placed my pistols ready cocked under my pillow; and thus secured, in spite of daggers and pale-faced assassins, soon fell fast asleep. Nothing disturbed me till the break of day, when my postillion called me at the hour I had appointed. I then took an opportunity of examining this dreadful cavern; and discovered, oh gentle reader! that it was indeed no other than a large wine vault dug underneath the house, and the roof of which, being only supported by beams of wood, had in some places decayed and fallen in; so groundless are often our apprehensions.' I. 117—119.

Indeed our author, like most travellers in the Peninsula, and in Italy, is a little more apt to perceive robbers and murderers than is altogether necessary. He admits, that he only saw banditti once in Spain; and it does not appear to us at all certain that they were so. Ascending a small hill, he perceived two men with long muskets, running up as if to gain the height before him. His guide (as is by no means uncommon) said they were robbers. Upon which our author sent the guide on before, and followed 'with his right hand on his pistol in the holster, and looking upon them sternly,' as they stood leaning upon their long muskets very composedly, while he passed. He conceives, that by this disposition of his force, he prevented them from shooting him and his guide; but, in our humble apprehension, these must have been shooters of birds and not of men, otherwise neither Mr Semple's manœuvre, nor his stern look, could have prevented them from killing him as soon as his back was turned, and then disposing of his guide and baggage at their leisure. He is also striken with melancholy feelings when he sees crosses on the road side, conceiving them always to signify that a murder has been committed on the spot. Whereas if he had enquired of his

his guide, he would have learnt, that by far the greatest part of them were erected on account of some accidental deaths having happened there; the same ceremony being performed wherever a person has died without the last rites of the church.

During the latter part of his journey through Spain, our author met different couriers proceeding to Madrid from Cadiz; and various rumours were spread about of a great naval engagement. —But he was kept in suspense by the different accounts which these gave of the result. Upon his arrival at the coast, all those doubts were cleared away; and he learnt the real extent of the victory, notwithstanding a good deal of gasconade, chiefly among the inferior classes of the people. He describes, in a very interesting and striking manner, some of the effects which he witnessed of that astonishing battle,—the greatest triumph of our arms, under the greatest of all our commanders,---and purchased too dearly by his loss. We shall make no apology for transcribing part of this melancholy description. It is certainly rendered less painful by the reflection, that it paints the necessary effects of lawful hostility; and offers to our contemplation none of the attrocities which have, on other occasions, been forced upon the valour of our troops, in the pursuit of a barbarous and unprincipled policy.

'The ensuing morning, being the 26th, I found several boats preparing to pass over to Cadiz, and accordingly placed myself in one of them with my saddle and portmanteau. I had not been long there before a number of sailors, some with small bundles, others with nothing on them but a pair of trowsers and a shirt, and others with their arms or heads bound up, came leaping one after another into the boat until it was quite full, and we put off. They were French sailors, whose vessel after escaping had been shipwrecked on the coast, and of eleven hundred men who composed the crew on the morning of the battle, only ninety-four, by their own account, had ever again reached the land. Soon after, leaving the little creek on which el Puerto de Santa Maria is situated, we open the whole bay, and some of the terrible effects of the late battle became visible. On the north-west side between el Puerto and Rota, lay a large Spanish ship, the San Raphael, seventy-four, broadside upon the rocks, bilged, and the waves breaking over her. At the bottom of the bay was a large French ship, the name of which I have forgotten, aground, but upright. In the centre, towards Cadiz, lay a group of battered vessels, five or six in number, bored with cannon shot; some with two lower masts standing, others with only one and a piece of a bowsprit, and one without a single stump remaining from stem to stern. "That," said the French sailors, "was the ship of the brave Magon, and on board of which he was killed."

'As the wind was contrary to our crossing over, the boat was obliged to make several tacks. In one of these we approached so near the shore, that we plainly discerned two dead bodies which the sea had thrown up. Presently one of a number of men on horseback, who for this

this sole purpose patroled the beach, came up, and having observed the bodies, made a signal to others on foot among the bushes. Several of them came down and immediately began to dig a hole in the sand, into which they dragged the dead.' I. 147—149.

'All this possessed something of the terrible. But in Cadiz, the consequences, though equally apparent, were of a very different nature. Ten days after the battle, they were still employed in bringing ashore the wounded; and spectacles were hourly displayed at the wharfs and through the streets, sufficient to shock every heart not yet hardened to scenes of blood and human sufferings. When, by the carelessness of the boatmen, and the surging of the sea, the boats struck against the stone piers, a horrid cry which pierced the soul, arose from the mangled wretches on board. Many of the Spanish gentry assisted in bringing them ashore, with symptoms of much compassion; yet as they were finely dressed, it had something of the appearance of ostentation, if there could be ostentation at such a moment. It need not be doubted that an Englishman lent a willing hand to bear them up the steps to their litters; yet the slightest false step made them shriek out, and I even yet shudder at the remembrance of the sound. On the tops of the pier the scene was affecting. The wounded were carrying away to the hospitals in every shape of human misery, whilst crowds of Spaniards either assisted or looked on with signs of horror. Meanwhile their companions who had escaped unhurt, walked up and down with folded arms and downcast eyes; whilst women sat upon heaps of arms, broken furniture and baggage, with their heads bent between their knees. I had no inclination to follow the litters of the wounded; yet I learned that every hospital in Cadiz was already full, and that convents and churches were forced to be appropriated to the reception of the remainder. If, leaving the harbour, I passed through the town to the point, I still beheld the terrible effects of the battle. As far as the eye could reach, the sandy side of the Isthmus, bordering on the Atlantic, was covered with masts and yards, the wrecks of ships, and here and there the bodies of the dead. Among others I noticed a topmast marked with the name of the Swiftsure, and the broad arrow of England, which only increased my anxiety to know how far the English had suffered; the Spaniards still continuing to affirm that they have lost their chief admiral and half their fleet. While surrounded by these wrecks, I mounted on the cross-trees of a mast which had been thrown ashore, and, casting my eyes over the ocean, beheld, at a great distance, several masts and portions of wreck still floating about. As the sea was now almost calm, with a slight swell, the effect produced by these objects had in it something of a sublime melancholy, and touched the soul with a remembrance of the sad vicissitudes of human affairs. The portions of a floating wreck were visible from the ramparts; yet not a boat dared to venture out to examine or endeavour to tow them in, such was the apprehensions which still filled their minds of the enemy.

'Finally, it was interesting, although in a different point of view from any that I have hitherto touched on, to observe the different effect

fect produced on the Spaniards and French by a common calamity.—The Spaniard, more than usually grave and sedate, plunged into a profound melancholy, seemed to struggle with himself whether he should seek within his soul fresh resources against unwilling enemies, or turn his rage against his perfidious allies. The French, on the contrary, were now beginning to mingle threats and indecent oaths with those occasional fits of melancholy, which repeated and repeated proofs of defeat still continued to press upon them, as it were, in spite of their endeavours to the contrary. Not one of them but would tell you, that if every ship had fought like his, the English would have been utterly defeated.'—I. 154—158.

From Algesiras Mr Semple went to Leghorn by sea, and from thence to Rome and Naples, with a vettorino. The slowness of this mode of travelling gives him ample opportunity of describing the interesting country through which he passed; and he does this in general, with great success, and in a style abundantly lively, without being florid or romantic. We would only hint to him, that his emotions upon seeing the mass of basaltes near Bolsena, are rather more violent than the occasion required.—'It was impossible,' he says, 'to contemplate it without interest; and, reflecting on the violent disputes which had arisen among learned men, concerning the origin of similar phenomena, I ran to the side of the hill. I scrambled over the broken fragments which were scattered about, and, being alone, embraced those which stood upright, as if I could thereby arrive at the secret of their formation.' As he 'received several severe falls,' we shall not chide him any further for being, though obviously unacquainted with the science, a good deal more ravished by this sight than would have been quite decorous in a zealous Huttonian. We must also suggest the propriety of giving common names, as *customhouse* and *inn*, rather in English than in good Italian; but, at any rate, not in bad Italian, (Vol. II. p. 48.); and would just whisper, that an author who frequently quotes Latin, ought not to have translated *Virgo Dei-para*, the *Virgin equal with God*, (Ibid. p. 54.)

In the road to Naples, French troops were constantly seen; and at Mola di Gaeta the siege was going on. The country, too, was much infested with brigands, who attacked the French, and killed both the stragglers from the army, and the Frenchmen travelling there, as often as they could catch them in small parties, or off their guard. In the vicinity of Naples, assassinations were so frequent, that the French officers did not venture out to any distance from their quarters; and insurrections were so constantly apprehended, that King Joseph's palace, to which also the public offices had been removed, was surrounded with loaded artillery.

artillery, lighted matches, and troops in battle array. Our author is too sensible a man to flatter the hopes and prejudices of his readers, by drawing from these anecdotes any inference unfavourable to the stability of the new government. He must have reflected, that if such precautions show the existence of danger, they also give us reason to conclude, that they who were exposed to it were well prepared for it, and likely to succeed in removing it.

Mr Semple pursued his voyage from Naples to Messina, and from thence coasted along Sicily, making little excursions into the country. He then went over to Malta, and proceeded to Smyrna, after visiting several of the most remarkable places in the Archipelago. His account of Milo is in every respect the most interesting, and greatly strengthens the reasons which have long since pointed out that island, as the station best adapted for securing a superiority in those seas, and preventing the enemy from making an impression on Egypt. Its length is from ten to twelve miles; its breadth six or seven. The harbour is indented so deep into the land, as to cut it into two divisions, joined by an isthmus a mile broad. This harbour is four miles in diameter, nearly circular, with a sandy bottom twenty or twenty-five fathoms not far from shore, capable of sheltering an innumerable navy, having on each side very high and steep ground, and such an entrance as to be at once most easily defended from an enemy, and accessible at all times to ships bound either up or down the Mediterranean.

Our author's residence at Smyrna gives him an opportunity of describing the amusements of the Turks.

'A large oak spreads its branches over the principal spring, and now and then a Turk may be seen smoking in ignorant happiness under its shade. It is indeed, even at present, and might be rendered still more, a spot particularly calculated for the luxuries of a warm climate, affording gushing springs, the shade of trees, and a pure running stream.—But who will speculate under a government where there is no security either for life or property? The Turks are very partial to such spots; but their indolence stops them about a mile and a half nearer to the town, on the same road, where a kind of coffee-garden attracts great numbers every evening. It is nothing more than a short walk, formed by two rows of trees, upon the borders of the Meles, once sacred to Homer, but now a small brook, which is here dammed across, so as to collect the water to the width of six or eight yards. On the opposite side of the brook is a large burying ground, full of tomb-stones and tall cypresses; and an old bridge of a single arch, over which runs the public road, completes the scenery of this Smyrnian paradise. Under the shade of these trees, and on the border of this puddle, Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Franks, unroll their mats, fold their legs under them,

them, like the camel, and give themselves up to the reveries of coffee and tobacco. To enliven the scene, tellers of stories resort hither, and with ludicrous gestures and grimaces cheat the grave Turks into a smile, raising their ponderous mustachios as it were in spite of them. To imitate the staggering and stuttering of a drunken man, is a never-failing source of merriment, which is sometimes changed for the shriller voice and the gait of a woman, or the crying of a child. Having finished the tale, they beat a little tambourine, and go round the audience, like the slave of Ali Baba, collecting in it the paras (a small coin), which, if their story has been well told, are liberally bestowed. The representation of human life and manners will always be interesting to man; and the stage is founded on principles and feelings common to all nations. Where laws or superstitions interfere to prevent a close representation, men will still make as near approaches as possible. The relators of stories are the actors of the Turks, and coffee-houses are their theatres. Caravan Bridge is the theatre of Smyrna; and Aristotle himself, were he to rise from the dead, could not criticize the unity of the scene which, whether it be tragedy or comedy, a battle or a marriage, the sighing of a despairing lover, or the roarings of a drunken Frank, is ever and still the same, a pond, a one-arched bridge, and a burying ground.' II. 203—206.

Immediately after this, however, which is not badly executed, follows one of the sentimental flights in which Mr Semple now and then indulges. He falls into a melancholy musing about the degraded state of man in those fine countries, and bemoans his own lot, in being quite unable to relieve the species. So far it is well and natural enough; but he proceeds to drown his sorrows in wine, and actually gets drunk before his readers, after the following manner. 'I will be a Greek,' he cries;' 'and as I see no Turk near me, I will bury all my woes in momentary oblivion.' 'Adieu! (continues he,) dreams for the happiness of my brother men, why should they make me unhappy? Give me wine, that I may forget my wretchedness.' As the wine mounts up, its effects begin to be apparent, and he calls aloud for more. 'Give me wine, whether it be of Scio or Mytelene, that I may plunge into delirious joy,' &c. &c. If we had not given our readers specimens of Mr Semple's sober productions, they would be inclined, from this exposure, to question the justice of the commendations which we bestow upon his book. It is, however, fair to add, that, whether from sleep, or from drinking deeper, he very soon becomes 'sobered again,' and delivers, at some length, an excellent character of the Turks and Greeks. As this is really a sketch of considerable merit, we shall conclude our extracts by giving a part of it.

'If two stout Greeks be fighting in the street, a Turk comes between them, pushes each a different way; and adds kicks and blows, should they still linger near each other. They look upon the life of an

Infidel as of little more value than that of a brute; and indeed do not seem to estimate their own at a very high rate. They have some traits of the true military character; are fond of horses and arms; and detest the sea. They delight in the pomp, and noise, and glitter of war; and they can blind themselves for a short time in the hour of battle to its dangers; but its incessant fatigues soon dishearten them; and although they insult the Christians at Constantinople and Smyrna, they have learnt to tremble before them on the banks of the Danube, and the borders of the Euxine. This, then, betrays the whole secret of their haughtiness. It is founded on the conquests of their remote ancestors, not on their own tried strength.

'In a word, deluded by the semblance of war, and really enervated by long habits of peace, and by a religion, the rewards of which are entirely sensual, the Turk is willing to have a foretaste in this world of the cooling shades, the pure running streams, the soft slumbers, and the Houris of Paradise. Tents adorned with fringes, horses gaily caparisoned, and splendid arms, serve only to wake him gently from these luxurious dreams, that he may fall to slumber again with a better relish, and dream that he is a soldier. So much of war as consists in that, he does not dislike. But long and tedious marches, painful wounds, above all, the profound study and science of war, are wholly unsuited to his temper, at once impetuous and indolent. Where it is possible by a single violent exertion to obtain his end, the Turk may succeed; but, disappointed in that first effort, he retires like the tyger who has missed his spring, and requires a long interval of repose to recruit his scattered ferocity.

'The radical and incurable defects of the Turkish character proceed in my opinion from their religion. All attempts of a Legislature to define exactly, not merely what is vice and what is virtue, but also the daily and hourly duties of the man and the citizen, may form a peculiar and separate people, a nation of Jews or of Turks; but, once formed, that nation remains for ever incapable of improvement. Such is the defect of the Koran. Its simple precepts, its strict prohibitions, were well calculated to bind together the wandering tribes of the Desert, but become too minute in some instances, and too desultory in others, when considered as the sole code of laws for an immense empire. Swathing clothes may strengthen the child, but, if not timely removed, effectually prevents its becoming a man. Mahommed fixed at once the moral limits of his people. He sketched no faint outline; but, on the contrary, marked it with so strong a hand, that the line of distinction is for ever drawn, not merely between the Turk and the Christian, but between the Turk and the Philosopher. It is impossible to be a true Mussulman and a lover and cultivator of those arts and sciences which adorn and exalt mankind. The Koran must be laid aside before the sources of real knowledge can be opened. The Englishman, the Gaul, the German, and the Russian, may each preserve the characteristic manners and customs of his country, and be a Christian; but the Jew or the Turk must be absolutely the same in all climates.' II. p. 214—217.

The

The description of the Greeks is executed in a more ambitious style, but is also very well done.

'It is impossible to survey their present condition without pity, or their character without some contempt. Like their ancestors, they are still fond of throwing the disc or quoit; like them, the olive still forms a material article of their food. But the pleasing delusion can be carried no further. On longer and closer intimacy, he finds the modern Greek smooth, but deceitful; boasting, but cowardly; vain, yet abject and cringing under the most insulting tyranny; light and capricious without invention; talkative without information; and equally bigotted with the Spaniard or Italian, but without the same real warmth of devotion to excuse it.

'There is no doubt but that the glories of his ancestors serve, by the contrast, to render his vices more prominent. Had we not been early taught to admire Grecian courage, wisdom, and talents, we might look upon the meanness of the present race with less emotion. But who can think, without regret, that the descendants of the conquerors of Marathon are cowards and slaves; that for so many centuries not a single poet has arisen in the country of Homer; and that the place of Plato and the Philosophers is supplied by ignorant priests; and of their scholars, by a still more ignorant people? The Greeks of this day present, in their moral character, the same spectacle as that of a man to whom Heaven has granted the doubtful blessing of very long life. But, however debased in a moral point of view, the Greeks still retain much of what we may suppose to have been their former physical character. Few amongst them are deformed or ugly; but, on the contrary, those from the Morea and the western islands of the Archipelago are in general remarkably stout, with broad shoulders and thick necks; whilst those of the other islands, and from Constantinople, Smyrna, and the coasts of Asia, supply by the elegance what is deficient in the strength of their make. Their physiognomies are expressive, but still less so than those of the Turks; and the women, when young, are generally beautiful and sprightly, but their beauty is of short duration. They are fond of wearing flowers on their head; and a robe sitting close to the body, and flowing loose behind, forms the Asiatic part of their dress, the remainder being very similar to that used by women in England or France. The men dress in short jackets and vests, with loose trowsers, which come just below the knee; and the common people, like the Turks, have the legs bare, with only a pair of slippers on the feet. They seldom shave the upper lip; which, with their bushy hair, and a little red cap on the crown of their heads, serves often to give them a wild look, but never a dignified or martial air.

'Even Turkish oppression, however, cannot entirely destroy the natural cheerfulness of their dispositions, inspired by the fine climate under which they live. They are fond of songs and dancing; and there are few, even of their smallest vessels, which have not on board at least one musician, furnished with a small violin or rebeck, and sometimes the

Spanish guitar. Upon these, when becalmed amongst the islands, or sailing with light breezes along the coast of Greece, they play wild, and often not unpleasing airs; and when a favourite tune is touched, the mariners join their voices in concert. The first part of the English tune of "God save the King," is very popular with the Greeks at Smyrna; but the second is either beyond their abilities, or not suited to their taste. It is said, indeed, that they seldom retain the second part of any European tune.' II. 218—222.

From Smyrna our author went to Constantinople, where he made but a short stay, and then returned to England by sea.

We cannot close this article, without once more recommending Mr Semple's work to the attention of our readers, and returning our thanks to that gentleman himself for the pleasure we have received in accompanying him on his tour. It will give us great satisfaction to meet him again and join his party, as soon as his avocations may lead him to set out upon another excursion into foreign parts.

ART. VII. *A short Inquiry into the Policy, Humanity, and past Effects of the Poor Laws.* By one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Three Inland Counties. 8vo. London. 1807.

WITHOUT meaning to derogate from the importance of those political laws by which civil liberty is secured, we may be permitted to observe, that mankind have generally appeared a little too fearful of the tyranny of their rulers, and somewhat too indifferent about their ignorance. With respect to the leading objects of civil liberty, this may, perhaps, be right. It requires no great depth of thought to provide against the undisguised outrages of despotism; and accordingly, where the spirit of freedom has prevailed, legislators have been generally successful in devising effectual securities for the enjoyment of those privileges which are essential to freedom. In the more delicate arrangements of internal policy, however, ignorance may be fully as mischievous as bad intention; it is of little importance that legislators are elected according to the forms of a free constitution, if they do not know how to direct their power to the only proper and rational end, the happiness of the people; and as a statesman, whose mind is enlightened with liberal notions of policy, can have no imaginable motive to withhold from mankind the benefits of his wisdom, the welfare of the people may, in many important points, be more successfully promoted under an absolute government, where the legislators are well instructed,

structed, than under a free government, where they are ignorant or incapable. It is a very great mistake to ascribe all the miseries of mankind to malignant abuses of power; a very great portion of the mischief which has resulted from misgovernment, may be referred to the injudicious attempts of their rulers to ameliorate their condition. The schemes of Frederic of Prussia, and of Joseph of Austria, for the encouragement of commerce, were singularly pernicious and absurd, and produced, undoubtedly, a great deal of individual distress; yet, it cannot be doubted that their intentions were to encourage commerce, although it would have been much for the advantage of their subjects that they had exercised a less watchful superintendance over their concerns. In endeavouring also to provide a decent subsistence for the poor, the English Legislature, with the most benevolent anxiety for their welfare, are generally acknowledged to have aggravated their misery, instead of having relieved it. The mischiefs which their ill-judged efforts have brought upon society, clearly show the importance of that science, which professes not so much to benefit mankind by exhibiting for their choice perfect patterns of political constitutions, as by enlightening those who administer the systems that are established. There is no doubt, that the authors of the English poor laws were actuated by the purest and most upright intentions; and yet the practical evil which has flowed from their erring benevolence, has scarcely fallen short of what tyrants have contrived to accomplish.

The present publication seems to have originated in the best intentions; and if we had nothing to do but with the design and motives of the work, we should feel it to be our duty to bestow on it unqualified praise. The author frequentlydisplays a very laudable anxiety for the welfare of the poor; he seems to have bestowed no common attention on the subject; and we can only lament, that his zeal (at least as far as this performance is concerned) should have been so unprofitably directed. His views on the poor laws, and on all the great questions connected with that important subject, are wild and impracticable, founded entirely on narrow notions, or exploded errors; and the projects of reformation which he recommends, would infallibly aggravate the evils which they are intended to remedy, by adding to that mass of paltry devices and artificial regulations by which the great arrangements of society are already too much obstructed. Although we must do him the justice to say, that his mind is not tainted with any illiberal antipathy to Mr Malthus, yet he appears to have perused his work with a predetermined resolution to misunderstand his views. We really scarcely can refrain from sympathizing with that eminent philosopher, who, though he has

enlarged the boundaries of science, and entitled himself to the rare commendation of having added to that class of important truths which have only to be explained in order to command our immediate assent, yet seems destined to be either the sport of misconception, or the object of the most indecent and acrimonious abuse. Our author seems also conversant in Dr Smith's writings, and really to understand the plainer doctrines of political economy, when they are brought to bear on a particular case; but he is sure to bewilder himself in general speculation: his delusions are not even plausible: and although he may have made himself familiar with a few elementary principles of the science, he certainly has not imbibed any thing of the spirit of that enlightened philosophy which has dawned upon modern times. Accordingly, all his schemes of reformation consist entirely of artificial regulations and restraints; he tears to pieces the natural order of society, without the smallest compunction--as if there could not be a fitter subject for the experiments of thoughtless projectors. Nothing, however, is so amusing as the great affection which this learned justice professes, on all occasions, for penalties. The whole of his complicated machinery is to be kept right by means of penalties; if any of his devices and regulations fail in their intended object, those who are entrusted with carrying them into effect, are to be loaded with heavy penalties; the zeal and vigilance of the many officers, who are created by his plan, are to be stimulated by penalties; if the discretionary power, which makes such a conspicuous figure in all his arrangements, is abused, he has again recourse to penalties: penalties, in short, like the warm water and phlebotomy of the renowned Sangrado, appear to be considered by our author as an infallible specific for the most obstinate disorders that can afflict the body politic. As it appears to us that the absurdity of this work will generally prove an effectual antidote to the errors which it contains, we propose to give but a very brief summary of its contents, pointing out, as we proceed, the various delusions into which the author has been betrayed. We shall then venture to lay before our readers a few general observations on the important subject on which it treats.

The greater part of those reasoners who are in the habit of misunderstanding and misrepresenting Mr Malthus, would have some chance of attaining clearer views on the subject of population, if, instead of indulging themselves in rambling declamation, they would attend to the very simple proposition from which his doctrines are deduced, namely, that the human race have a tendency to increase faster than food can be provided for them. If this proposition be true, then it necessarily follows, that the only effectual

effectual encouragement which can be given to population is to increase the agricultural produce of a country; and, if population be increased without a corresponding increase of food, they must starve, or, at least, be reduced to the most extreme misery. Our author, however, has found out that Mr Malthus proposes to repress the population by artificial checks; and he sets out immediately with declaiming in favour of a *redundant* population, showing how intimately it is connected with national strength, and quoting Bacon and Locke on the subject. He then proceeds to observe, that the population of a country is not limited by the quantity of food which it produces, but that it may support a greater population by *importing* corn; and that a commercial and manufacturing country, by exchanging its manufactures for the produce of an agricultural nation, can easily procure an addition to the quantity of subsistence which its own territory will produce. The number of its inhabitants therefore, depends, according to our author, not on the quantity of food which it produces, but on the demand for men, and on the high price of labour.

Now, we do not recollect that Mr Malthus has any where ventured to assert, that an additional population cannot be subsisted on imported corn; so that his doctrines are no way affected by this statement of our author's: and as to the quibble about population not depending on the relative quantity of food, but on the demand for labour, it will be sufficient to observe, that if population depends on the demand for labour, the demand for labour depends on the relative quantity of subsistence. It is not money which really constitutes the wages of labour; but it is what money can purchase, namely, the necessaries and conveniences of life. Without a sufficient quantity of corn, therefore, for the food of the labourer, how could there be any demand for labour, when there could not be funds for its payment? Notwithstanding, however, our resources from imported corn, there is another circumstance which fills our author with various alarms for the population. Owing to the favourable state of society which prevails in Britain, the labourer, he observes, will not marry unless his wages are such as to enable him to command a competent quantity of the necessaries and even the luxuries of life. High wages, he appears to imagine, discourage population. He is never at a loss, however, for a scheme; and accordingly proposes, that, to encourage the labourer to marry, a poor rate should be imposed in order to make up his wages to the sum necessary for that purpose, as if an increase of population could be supported by donations of money. Another notable effect which would follow from this device would be, that as high wages raise the price of our manufactures, and thus dis-

courage their exportation, by giving the labourer part of his wages in the form of a poor rate, we would keep wages low; in other words, we would bribe the labourer with high wages to work cheap!

Next follows what the author calls 'A historical deduction of the effects of the poor laws in England.' He informs us, at great length, that England has been increasing, since the days of Elizabeth, in prosperity, in opulence, and in population; all which, we are given to understand, is wholly to be ascribed to the operation of the poor laws. It appears to us to be so extremely absurd to assert that population can be increased by means of the poor laws, that we cannot refrain from submitting the following argument to the attention of our author. Supposing a country able to support, in tolerable comfort, from the produce of its own territory, along with what it can import, a population of 1,000,000, is he prepared to maintain, that, by taxing the rich, in order to give to each labourer an addition to his weekly wages of five shillings, the country would be enabled to support a greater number of inhabitants in the same degree of comfort? If he is not prepared to go this length, his argument, respecting the increase of population derived from the poor laws, falls instantly to the ground.

The humanity of those institutions for the relief of the poor, is also a favourite topic of declamation with this writer; and although we fully acquit him of any design to do injustice to Mr Malthus, he has certainly contrived to exhibit him in a very unfair and unamiable light to his readers. After complimenting him on the openness and boldness with which he avows his doctrines in the face of popular obloquy, he observes, that it is, however, a matter of great joy to those who differ from him in opinion, that 'in indulging the finer feelings of the heart, they are at the same time promoting the best interests of the country; that in encouraging marriage, and, as they believe, happiness and morality among the lower orders,—in assisting women, at a time when they are most of all in need of comfort and support,—and in helping them to rear their children in soundness of body and mind, they are employed in preparing the instruments of their country's welfare and prosperity, and not sowing the seeds of want, vice, and misery; that in *rescuing the trembling limbs of age from cold and wretchedness*, they are not bestowing upon idleness the encouragements due only to virtue and industry.' In what part of the Essay on Population, we beg leave to ask, are men forbid to 'indulge the finer feelings of the heart;' to 'assist women when they are most of all in need of comfort and support;' or, 'to rescue the trembling limbs of age from cold

cold and wretchedness?' Mr Malthus expressly states, in various parts of his work, that if it were possible to draw from the resources of the rich, the means of ameliorating the condition of the poor, he should have no objection to impose a very heavy assessment for that purpose. But it is because the poor laws, instead of 'rescuing the trembling limbs of age from cold and wretchedness,' are a most fertile source of misery to the poor, that Mr Malthus wishes them to be gradually abolished. We do not, therefore, see the necessity of such an ostentatious parade of the 'finer feelings of the heart' upon this occasion; to say the least of it, it appears to be quite useless and inapplicable.

As far as the principles of Mr Malthus respects public charity, we do not think they can well be controverted. But it does not appear to us, that they furnish a rule for the exercise of private charity. There is an essential difference between public and private benevolence. All schemes for the general relief of the poor must proceed on views of justice and policy, alone. There is a risk, lest profuse liberality should encourage improvidence, or produce other mischiefs, of which we may not be at first aware; we must not only look therefore, at the particular object to be relieved, but we must consider what may be the effect of our exertions on the general happiness of the community. In the charitable donations of individuals, the case is entirely different; the practice of benevolence is enjoined to those who have neither the capacity nor the means of being informed about the general good; their object, therefore, is to relieve misery; and the principal object of their inquiry will naturally be, the necessities of the object on whom their charity is to be bestowed. There is no danger that the liberality of individuals will ever flow so certainly or so abundantly, as to draw after it any sort of dependence.—Private benevolence, therefore, far from appearing as the stern judge of human frailties, relieves, not those only who have fallen into distress from no fault of their own, but those also who have no plea to offer, but that of actual wretchedness: genuine benevolence, in short, visits and relieves distress without any strict inquiry into its cause, wherever it is to be found. We cannot therefore agree with Mr Malthus, that the hand of private benevolence should be very sparingly stretched out, for the relief of those who have involved themselves in difficulties by the imprudence of an early marriage. Whatever bad effects a propensity to early marriages, among the labouring classes of the community, might produce on the general state of society, yet the error (if it be an error) is, with respect to individuals, of the most venial kind; and, even if merit or demerit is to be taken as the scale by which we are to measure out our benevolence, we do not by any means

means think that they will be placed at the bottom of it. On the other hand, however, we entirely concur with Mr Malthus, that they are not proper objects of public charity, because the certainty of this resource would obviously create the mischief which it is intended to relieve.

Our author, after having recovered from this burst of philanthropy, endeavours to obviate the objections which have been made to the poor laws. For this purpose he extenuates their evils, which he classes with those petty irregularities from which no comprehensive arrangement of policy can be free; and declaims against those, who, in political contrivances, aim at theoretic perfection. Instead of being discouraged by the evils incident to the system, we should *make new laws* (he observes) to counteract these evils. He accordingly proposes a scheme of regulations, for excluding those who have not been provident and saving when they had it in their power, from all participation in the benefits of the poor laws; which has only one fault, namely, that it is utterly impracticable. It would also, he imagines, tend greatly to produce economy among the labouring classes, if offices were erected by government, for receiving such trifling sums as they should have saved from their earnings: parish schools, he thinks, ought also to be established for their instruction; and cottages, with three or four acres of waste land, should be bestowed on those labourers who have brought up three children, or more, to a certain age; provided, however, they have given them such instruction *as should seem good to the Legislature*. With respect to offices established by government, it requires no great foresight to perceive, that it would soon turn out to be a most useless and ridiculous job. We know of no labourers who have either the opportunity or the inclination to lay up money; when they save any thing from their wages, they generally deposit it in the fund of a friendly society, as a resource against sickness or old age. If, however, a labourer is determined upon hoarding, he will always find some creditable individual who will pay him interest for the smallest sums; he must, of course, be subjected to all the risks of other lenders, and must, like them, exert his vigilance to avoid them. But, in truth, it is of more consequence to observe, that this watchful superintendance over the poor,—this constant tampering with all their concerns, which seems to have infected the higher orders of society, is calculated to reduce them to a state of the most helpless ignorance and improvidence; and, by dispensing, in their case, with the exercise of all those virtues which steer other men through the hazards of life, to strip them of every energetic and manly quality. The establishment of schools for their instruction might certainly

certainly be attended with good effects; but the plan of providing cottages for those who may have brought up three children to a certain age, besides being fantastic in its principle, seems quite impracticable. Men have sufficient motives to bring up their children with decency and propriety without any reward; and if they do not find a sufficient recompence in the feelings of their own minds, we do not think that the prospect of living in an eleemosynary cottage will furnish an effectual inducement.—Besides, how is it certain that these cottages would be bestowed on meritorious objects. It appears to us quite as likely that they would be the asylum of indolence as of industry. The great fault of all complex contrivances is, that they are apt to be perverted from their objects by those who are entrusted with their execution; and they always prove, sooner or later, a receptacle of the most pernicious abuses. On reading all these fine schemes for the benefit of the poor, one would naturally imagine that they must be in a most wretched situation where nothing of that kind is attempted for their relief. In Scotland, however, we have neither government bank offices, nor cottages, nor work-houses, and yet the condition of the labouring part of the community is extremely comfortable. They are provident and economical,—principally, we believe, because they are well educated, and not liable to be debased in their habits by a system of poor laws.

From one hopeless project our author proceeds to another equally hopeless, namely, the employment of the poor. Before the expediency of any plan for this purpose can be admitted, he must prove, first, that the fear of want is not of itself a sufficient stimulus to industry; and, 2dly, that where plenty of work is to be had, those who are in want of it cannot seek it out for themselves, without the assistance of the Legislature. The laws for the employment of the poor have, it seems, fallen into almost total neglect; and our author, with his usual sagacity, infers, that their execution must have been placed in improper hands. For amending this defect he proposes a very complicated scheme, into the details of which, however, we really cannot enter particularly. Several parishes are to be erected into a district, over which one officer is to preside,—his diligence and activity to be encouraged by rewards, and enforced by *heavy penalties*. As a centre of general communication for the whole country, a Board of Commissioners is to be established in London, 'consisting of the most *enlightened* and *independent* gentlemen of large fortune, well acquainted with the commercial and agricultural interests of their country; serving without salary; and bound to the strict discharge of their duty

under

under penalties.' Any partiality or imposition on the part of the district officer, to be also punished with *very heavy penalties.*

A whole chapter is next devoted to an inquiry into the cause of the augmentation which has taken place in the poor rates, which is in a great measure ascribed to the great rise in the price of all the necessaries of life. Our author then proceeds to inquire, why England, which was formerly an exporting country, is now obliged to import. This he seems to consider as the chief cause of the distresses of the poor; and he accordingly suggests various plans for removing it; all of which have for their object the increase of the agricultural produce of the country. But as we do not believe, that, if the condition of the poor in England be depressed, it is at all owing to the circumstance of our importing corn, neither do we think the evil would be permanently removed, by increasing the quantity of food produced in the country. The condition of the labourer depends on the relation between the supply of food and the population among whom the food is to be divided. It is a matter of no consequence to him, whether it be produced in the country, or whether it be imported, provided there is an abundant supply. If his situation is depressed, an increase of agricultural produce will no doubt relieve him for a time; but population will soon increase, and the same difficulties will again recur. It is not on the absolute supply of food, but on its relative supply, that the condition of the labourer depends; and this supply will be great or small, according to the degree in which the preventive check to population prevails. As an addition to the agricultural produce of the country will not, however, prevent the recurrence of scarcity, our author has another recipe for that purpose. He proposes to transport 25,000 Chinese to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of raising a surplus supply of food, which is to be in part collected by the governor in payment of taxes, and warehoused, until the state of the supply shall be known in Britain, where it can be imported if required, and, if not, it is to be exported to other countries, even at a loss! It is quite amusing to consider our author's schemes. Before such a projector all sort of difficulties vanish. Even the ordinary operations of nature are accelerated, if they happen to be too slow (as indeed they generally are) for bringing his projects to maturity. The work concludes with a proposal for rendering every species of income rateable to the poor laws. As the system, however, appears to us to be radically wrong, we should decidedly object to any plan by which a greater sum would be collected. Our author's object is indeed not to increase the burden, but to distribute it more equally. We have no doubt, however,

ever, that the consequence would be, the collection of a larger sum, which would only serve to increase beggary and dependence, and, instead of relieving the poor, to render them more wretched. Having now concluded our remaks on the work before us, we shall lay before our readers a general view of the spirit and tendency of all those plans which have been adopted for ameliorating the condition of the poor.

When persons belonging to that class of society by whom the rest are clothed, lodged, and fed, fall into misery and poverty, not through any fault of their own, but from the visitation of providence, it appears, at first view, to be exceedingly just and reasonable, that those who have profited by their industry, should, in the day of their calamity, help to mitigate their distress. In order to give effect to this apparently benevolent principle, various schemes have been suggested. It has sometimes been proposed to regulate the wages of labour so as always to ensure to the labourer a competent command over the necessaries and simpler luxuries of life; at other times, large sums of money have been levied on the rich to relieve the sufferings of the poor; or, when labour was supposed to be scarce, plans have been set on foot for their support, by finding work for the labourer. The impossibility, however, of raising by artificial regulations the wages of those who work, or of relieving their sufferings when their wages are inadequate, either by giving them money, or by furnishing them with work when the effectual fund for the support of labour has declined, has been very clearly demonstrated by several writers, particularly by Mr Malthus, whose reasonings have thrown quite a new light on this interesting subject.

In the system of English poor laws, *all* these different expedients are occasionally made use of to relieve the distresses of the poor. By the 43d of Elizabeth, the justices are empowered to levy a general assessment for the relief of the impotent; they are also required to set poor children to work, or those who are able to work and cannot find employment. 'What is this (Mr Malthus observes) but saying that the funds for the maintenance of labour in this country may be increased at will, and without limit, by the *fiat* of government, or an assessment of the overseers? Strictly speaking, this clause is as arrogant, and as absurd, as if it had enacted that two ears of wheat should in future grow, where one only had grown before. Canute, when he commanded the waves not to wet his princely feet, did not in reality assume a greater power over the laws of nature. No directions are given to the overseer how to increase the funds for the maintenance of labour; the necessity of industry, economy, and enlightened exertion, in the management of agricultural capital

tal, is not insisted on, for this purpose; but it is expected that a miraculous increase of these funds should immediately follow an edict of government made at the discretion of some ignorant parish officer.'

The same act gives to the justices an unlimited power of levying whatever assessment they may think necessary for the relief of the poor; it enables them also to judge who are fit objects of public charity. Nothing is so contrary to the spirit of sound legislation, as the unnecessary creation of discretionary power; and it need excite little surprise, when the legislators of the land, abdicating their own natural functions, have confided the exercise of such a delicate trust to the justices of the peace, that abuse and corruption have been the consequence. To provide a full and certain relief, even for the infirm and the impotent, must tend to render them beggarly and improvident. But in England the objects of parochial relief have been greatly multiplied. It has been thought necessary to offer charity to the labourer in full possession of health and strength. And what is still more revolting to every idea of sound policy and common sense, the *quantum* of relief given to him is proportioned to the high price of corn; which is the same thing as saying, that he shall consume the same quantity of subsistence when it is scarce, as when it is plenty; when it is not to give him, as when it is to give him; in short, that the great majority of the community shall never feel the pressure of scarcity. Agreeably to these notions, a table was published for the information of magistrates and overseers, in which the sum necessary for the support of the labourer was computed according as the price of bread should vary, or as the labourer's family should be either small or large. By this mode of computation, it may easily be conceived what an enormous assessment would be requisite in a time of scarcity, to give to the labourer the sum necessary for his support according to the price of bread in 1795. Twenty-five shillings in the week was the sum allotted for the support of a labourer with a family of seven children. This principle was acted upon very generally during the scarcity of 1795, and during the scarcities also of 1799 and 1800; and the weekly allowance which the labourer received frequently exceeded his wages. Mr Malthus mentions, that he has known a labourer whose earnings amounted to ten shillings *per* week, receive fourteen shillings from the parish. 'Such instances (he observes) could not possibly have been universal, without raising the price of wheat very much higher than it was during any part of the dearth. But similar instances were by no means infrequent; and the system itself, of measuring the relief given by the price of grain, was general.' After being made acquainted with these facts, it need excite

excite very little surprize, that the poor laws, as they are administered, have succeeded in some measure in debasing the character of the common people in England; and that, in some parishes, every fourth man receives parish relief. The enormous sums which have been squandered away for the vain purpose of enabling the labourer to consume the same quantity of corn when it is scarce as when it is plenty, have an obvious tendency to raise its money price, and thus to depress the condition of all those who do not receive parish relief. The poor laws thus contribute to create the poor whom they maintain.

When there is a scarcity of subsistence, it is perfectly evident, that want must be felt somewhere; and even if it were possible entirely to relieve the labourer, the evil would not be removed; it would be only transferred to another class of the community. The good to be done in a time of scarcity by pecuniary contributions is quite partial: it does not even palliate the general evil; it only relieves one person at the expense of another. The middling classes of the community, were, according to Mr Malthus, visibly depressed by the extravagant largesses which were squandered on the poor in 1799 and 1800. And he shows, clearly indeed, that this must have been the case. The reasonings of that writer on the subject of the poor laws, are truly admirable for their clearness and their originality. The evils which were at that time produced by the inconsiderate profusion with which parochial relief was granted, were too visible to escape the notice of the most superficial observer; but while other writers busied themselves in criticizing and in amending paltry details, Mr Malthus went to the bottom of the evil, and showed that the system was so vicious in its principle, that no amendments could render it beneficial. Even if eighteen shillings in the pound were levied for the relief of the poor, Mr Malthus shows, that the poor would not be relieved. 'Great changes (he observes) might indeed be made. The rich might become poor, and some of the poor rich; but, while the present proportion between the population and the food continues, a part of society must necessarily find it difficult to support a family; but this difficulty will necessarily fall on the least fortunate members.' That the poor laws may mitigate cases of severe distress, appears probable. But when it is considered, that they necessarily require a system of harsh and tyrannical restraint—that they obstruct the free circulation of labour—that they are a constant source of tyranny, contention, and legal wrangling, and that they tend to produce alienation between the rich and the poor, rendering the poor thankless and beggarly, and the rich hard-hearted; we may well

well inquire whether the good which they produce, could not be procured without such a lamentable train of attendant evils.

The mischief produced by the poor laws, seems to have been insisted on by almost every writer on the subject; and Burnet*, in the excellent remarks with which he closes his history, seems to be decidedly of opinion, that they ought to be abolished. Most writers, however, object rather to the administration of the poor laws, than to the principles on which they are founded; and they have accordingly suggested various improvements and emendations. They put down the present scheme of regulations, in order to make way for a set of their own, which are no doubt sufficiently plausible in theory, but which could not be reduced to practice, without producing the evils already complained of. In 1796, a plan for reforming the poor laws was brought forward by Mr Pitt, full of device and regulation, provided with work-houses, schools of industry, superintendants, visitors, warehousemen, justices of the peace vested with large discretionary powers—the whole a most complex contrivance, and leading to every species of abuse. Another plan has been since brought forward by Mr Whitbread, for the avowed purpose of rendering the poor laws obsolete. This desireable object, was to be effected by the establishment of schools, where the lower classes of society might be instructed, and gradually so improved in their habits, as to be set above receiving parish relief. However highly we may approve of this institution, and however much we may have been surprised, that a plan for improving the faculties of rational creatures should have met with any obstruction, we doubt much whether it would have brought about any general change in the manners of the English populace, particularly while such a source of moral depravation as the poor laws was suffered to exist. There were other regulations in this plan, of which we have already expressed our opinion, such as the establishment of banks for receiving the hoardings of the poor, and the erection of cottages for their comfort. The granting of honorary badges as a reward for decent conduct, seems quite fantastical. The great point in all those arrangements ought to be, to free society as much as possible from burdensome restraints. And we cannot help thinking, that legislators would succeed much better in their plans, if their minds could be weaned from that love of device and contrivance with which they seem to have been in all ages too much infected.

Mr Malthus has, however, proposed a plan of his own for giving effect to his principles, which seems more simple, and better

* Burnet, Hist. of his own times, Vol. VI. p. 314.

ter calculated for answering its purpose, than any of those complicated schemes. He is of opinion, that a regulation should be made, declaring that no child, born from any marriage taking place after the expiration of a year from the date of the law, and that no illegitimate child born two years after the same date, should ever be entitled to parish assistance. To give a more general knowledge of this law, he proposes that the clerygman of the parish should, previous to every marriage, read a short address to the parties, stating the strong obligation on every man to support his own children, and the necessity which had at length appeared, from regard to the poor themselves, of abandoning all public institutions for their relief, as they had produced effects totally opposite to those which were intended.

This plan has been reprobated as iniquitous and cruel; but if the poor laws are to be abolished, it is impossible to conceive in what way this great reformation can be brought about with less hardship to those concerned. Those who had been accustomed to depend upon parochial relief, would have that dependence still left them; so that they could not be said to suffer any injury; and the rising generation would have a plain warning that they had nothing to depend upon for their support but their own exertions. The plan, therefore, seems, in this respect, to be perfectly unexceptionable, and to accord with that enlightened humanity which the writings of Mr Malthus generally display.—The scheme appears, however, to be in some respects unsatisfactory and incomplete. It does not seem to be founded on that full and distinct view of the poor laws, on which alone a suitable remedy can be founded. When we consider how much Mr Malthus must have reflected on the poor laws, and that it is principally to the writings of that eminent philosopher, that we are indebted for any clear views on the subject, it is with the most respectful diffidence that the following observations are offered to the attention of the reader.

It is the opinion of Sir F. M. Eden*, and it seems, indeed, extremely probable, that the law passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had no relation to the able-bodied labourer, but was only meant for the relief of those who either had not work, or who were unable to work. In later years, however, they have been generally extended to the relief of the labourer; and the quantity of that relief has been measured by the high price of provisions. The poor rates have accordingly increased enormously; so that, in the year 1801, they were said to amount to the incredible sum

* Vol. 9. p. 584.

of 10,000,000l. Formerly they did not exceed 3,000,000l. To add generally to the earnings of the labourer, when his wages are low, or when the price of subsistence is high, is in effect the same thing as forcibly to raise the wages of labour, or to fix a maximum on the price of provisions. In a season of scarcity, such a measure, whatever disorder and mischief it may be attended with, cannot even materially relieve those for whose benefit it is intended. The labourers and their families form by far the greater proportion of every community; and it must be chiefly by their savings that a diminished supply of corn can be made to last till a fresh supply can be procured. No other order of men can be substituted in their place to bear the burden. Individual labourers may, indeed, be raised; and individuals in a higher situation may be depressed;—but the pressure of scarcity must always be heavily felt by the great body of the people. The same reasoning applies to the low price of labour, which always indicates an increase of population, without a corresponding increase of food. But it is evidently the same thing, whether population is increased in proportion to the food, or whether the food has decreased in proportion to the population. Both evils are exactly the same, and can only be removed by increasing the supply of food.

It may be said, however, that in a scarcity, the hardship is exclusively borne by the poor, the rich being enabled, by means of money, to consume the same quantity of subsistence as before; and that pecuniary contributions may place the two classes more upon a level, and force the rich to bear their share in the burden. But, even if the rich were forced to abridge their consumption, they bear such a small proportion to the mass of the community, that the poor would be but little benefited; and it is moreover impossible to effect this, except by levelling the rich with the poor. The enormous sums which were lavished for the relief of the indigent during the late scarcities, contributed not so much to affect the rich, as the classes immediately above the poor; whom it depressed, Mr Malthus observes, in the most marked manner. Now, even if the poor were to be relieved in this way, it does not appear that the general mass of misery would be lessened;—their sufferings would be merely transferred to another class of society equally deserving attention and relief, and the number of those demanding parochial assistance would be increased. The ease, however, which the poor can derive from this miserable resource is so trifling, that it can never be felt. Even if all the forced savings of this class of the community were distributed to them *gratis* it would furnish a remedy completely insignificant, when compared with such an extensive and deep-rooted malady. During the late scarcities,

cities, therefore, seven millions a-year appear to have been squandered for no other purpose than to recruit for beggars.

As the object for which this money is raised,—namely, to relieve the great body of the people from the pressure of scarcity, appears to be completely unattainable; as the degree of pressure must be exactly such as to make the diminished supply of corn last out the year; as pecuniary contributions cannot lessen it, and can do very little towards altering the mode of its distribution, the situation of the poor would not be at all affected, if the able-bodied labourer were wholly excluded from parochial relief. If this arrangement was once carried into effect, the expenditure of the poor-laws would be very materially curtailed; as, we believe, the greater part of the relief granted, is given to able-bodied labourers with families.

Mr Malthus, in his plan for the abolition of the poor-laws, does not appear to us to distinguish between the original and genuine objects of parochial relief, and those to whom that charity has been most improperly extended. His reasonings, however, are evidently directed against the practice of giving relief to the labourer; and, so far from thinking his plan either cruel or iniquitous, as it has been most unjustly termed, the evil which Mr Malthus is for doing away, by mild and gradual reformation, might, in our apprehension, without producing any bad effects, be much more speedily got quit of. To the common labourer, who is able to work, all sort of charity ought, on a warning of six months or a year, to be refused; and this ought not to be left to the justices of the peace,—it ought to be established by law. In the recurrence of a scarcity, the practice of measuring out relief by the price of provisions, should never again be resorted to.

With respect to those who are really destitute, it appears, by experience, that a full and certain relief cannot be provided for them, without producing very melancholy effects on the manners of the people. A better plan for modifying the relief which is given to them, cannot be resorted to, than that proposed by Mr Malthus. Whether the relief ought to be entirely taken away, as in Scotland, or whether it ought to be so far reduced, as either to come in aid of personal exertion or of voluntary charity, is a question which requires very serious consideration. From a very careful examination of this important subject, it clearly appears to us, that it is much safer to fall short than to exceed, in relieving distress by public charity. What may be wanting in public, is generally made up by private benevolence. But there is no way of correcting the evil of profuse donations enforced by the authority of law.

ART. VIII. *On the Conduct of the British Government towards the Catholics of Ireland.* 8vo. pp. 38. London. 1807.

Remarks on the Dangers which threaten the Established Religion, and on the Means of averting them. In a Letter to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer. By Edward Pearson, B. D. 8vo. pp. 98. London. 1807.

An Alarm to the Reformed Church of Christ established in those Kingdoms. By a Watchman of the Church. 8vo. pp. 16. London. 1807.

An Earnest Address to those of all Orders and Degrees in the United Church of England and Ireland respecting the Papists. 8vo. pp. 32. London. 1807.

THOUGH nothing very important has been said, written, or done, with regard to this great subject, since we last recommended it to the notice of our readers, yet we think it material to bring it again under their view; and, in as far as in us lies, to familiarize the understanding of the public with the most momentous and most unreasonable controversy that has ever been presented to their decision. There are some causes in which perseverance is sure to be rewarded with success, and some subjects upon which reason will certainly be triumphant, provided she return with sufficient patience to the charge, and resolutely repeats the argument which has originally failed of effect. This is a result which may safely be reckoned upon in all cases in which expediency and justice are on one side, and established prejudice or habit on the other. It was so with the introduction of religious and of civil freedom into this country,—with the reformation and the revolution of England. It was so in the more recent instance of the abolition of the slave trade; and it is and will be so with the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland. In all these cases, the settled prejudices and habits of men, abetted and flattered by the interested clamours of individuals, resisted for a long time the force of those reasonings, before which we now think they should have disappeared in an instant; and it was only by little and little, and in consequence of patient and persevering repetition, that the most pernicious and absurd tenets were made to give way to maxims of obvious justice and expediency. The process of illuminating the public understanding, under such circumstances, in short, seems to resemble that of moistening magnesia or any other fine powder with water.—

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Though very dry and thirsty, it will by no means unite with the fluid at first, but is sure, if rashly handled, to run into troublesome knots and masses, or to fly up in the eyes of the operator. By adding but a little of the water at a time, however, and carefully and patiently rubbing it up with the refractory pulvil, he may always be sure of effecting an incorporating union, and producing a smooth and indissoluble compound, of great virtue and efficacy.

We do not entertain the slightest doubt of the ultimate success of the Catholics in their claim of emancipation, but we think it our duty to omit no opportunity of submitting it to public examination; and shall persist, as long as pamphlets can be found on the subject, to urge, on the sense and the conscience of the country, those strong reasons of justice and expediency by which it appears to be supported. Now that the cry of no popery has served its unworthy purpose,—that the elections are over, and the ministry settled in their seats,—there is room, perhaps, to hope that the advocates of this cause may obtain a more favourable hearing, and that the liberal part of the community may be able to distinguish them from the mere zealots of a party.

The question itself, like every other question relating to human affairs, may be considered under the double aspect of expediency and justice. The result, as usually happens also, will be the same upon both; but, for the sake of simplifying the discussion, and avoiding offence to a certain hardy race of politicians, we shall, for the present, drop all consideration of justice, and examine the case upon the principles of expediency alone. In matters of political arrangement, indeed, there is no other principle by which we can rationally expect men to be actuated. Every nation, we may depend upon it, will act in the way which it conceives to be most for its own advantage, and will only be observant of justice towards others, in so far as such a rule of conduct promises to contribute ultimately to its own security or advancement. We do not want a stricter rule of morality for the purposes of the present argument, and surely cannot be accused of any very romantic flight of morality, in proposing to have it tried by such a criterion. The natural order seems to be, to point out, in the first place, what would be the advantages of admitting Catholics to a civil equality with their protestant fellow-subjects; and then to consider what may be the just amount and value of the disadvantages which have been anticipated from this proceeding. It is necessary, however, first of all, to clear the way for this equation by a short view of the origin and present state of the incapacities to which this order of men is subjected. Such a statement forms the basis of fact to which all our argu-

ments must bear reference; and it is the more necessary to exbit it at the outset, as we have frequently been astonished at the degree of ignorance which prevailed upon this subject even among the declaimers and pamphleteers who have come forward for the instruction of their countrymen.

From the time of the reformation to that of the revolution, popery seems to have been regarded by the Legislature rather as a crime, for which individuals regularly convicted of any overt act, were liable to punishment, than as a system of faith, the profession of which was to be repressed by permanent disqualifications. Celebrating mass, or attending its celebration, were indictable offences: and every subject whatsoever, was made liable to a severe imposition, if he omitted to attend the established church at least once every Sunday. Catholics, however, were neither excluded from parliament, nor laid under any disabilities as to the enjoyment and transference of property, the rights of self-defence, or the economy of their families. Those laws were administered with great mildness, on the whole, during the reign of Elizabeth; and, with regard to Ireland, were little more than a dead letter. In the time of James the I., when the protestants for the first time formed a majority in that parliament, they were enforced with occasional rigour; and under Charles, the severities which his necessities, rather than his disposition, led him to exercise, joined with the oppressions of Strafford and the permitted insolence of the English settlers, led to those scenes of misery and devastation in the rebellion 1641, of which no man, till lately, conceived that the repetition was possible. The soldiery of Cromwell settled themselves in the lands from which they had expelled their opponents; and, after the Restoration, the Act of Settlement confirmed the transference of eight millions of acres from Irish catholics to English protestants. It was most natural that the native proprietors should aim at recovering their possessions. They joined, accordingly, with James II.; and, during the short period of his success, they rescinded the act of settlement. The arms of William overthrew the last remnant of catholic government or ascendancy in these kingdoms; and, by the articles of Limerick, which closed the scene of hostility in 1691, it was expressly stipulated, that 'the Roman Catholics should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II; and their majesties, as soon as they can summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics *such further security* in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion.' This solemn instrument of pacification, granted in the moment of victory, was ratified and published

lished in letters patent under the great seal, in the fourth year of King William; and in three years thereafter, was passed, in direct violation of it, the famous act for preventing the growth of popery, the foundation and model of the many barbarous enactments by which that race of men were oppressed for little less than a century thereafter. The history of this act, as recorded by Burnet and other contemporary writers, is edifying, and deserves to be noticed.

The disposition of the King was known to be decidedly tolerant; and his ministers had, of course, adopted his principles. The recent troubles and contests, on the other hand, had excited a great popular prejudice against the Roman Catholics; and the party in opposition resolved to avail themselves of these circumstances, to discredit, and, if possible, to displace the existing administration. With this view they introduced a very severe and preposterous bill against the Catholics, not so much from any real fear or detestation of that body, which had been perfectly quiet and submissive, as in the hope that the court party would oppose it, and thereby subject themselves to the odium of protecting popery. The courtiers, however, were too cunning to be the dupes of this manœuvre; and unluckily attempted to defeat it by another, which succeeded still more unluckily. Instead of opposing the bill in the Lower House, they added to it a variety of cruel and absurd clauses; in consequence of which, they conceived that it would certainly be rejected by the House of Lords, or, at least, sent back with considerable alterations; a measure that, in the temper which then prevailed between the two Houses, would infallibly have caused it to be withdrawn. In this expectation, however, they were unfortunately deceived. The dread of popery, and still more the love of popularity, deterred the members of the Upper House from rejecting the bill, or from taking any steps by which its rejection might have been produced; and it was passed, contrary to the wishes and intentions of the greater part of those who had been engaged in its discussion. This, at least, is the history of the English act, which was avowedly the model of that which was passed for Ireland. By this barbarous act, and the statutes by which it was followed up, Catholics were disabled from purchasing or inheriting land,—from being guardians to their own children,—from having arms or horses,—from serving on grand juries,—from entering in the inns of court,—from practising as barristers, solicitors, or physicians, &c. &c.

At the close of the reign of Queen Anne, in short, when the privileges and liberties of Englishmen stood on so triumphant a footing, nothing remained to two thirds of the inhabitants of Ireland, by which they could be distinguished from slaves or

aliens, but the right of voting at elections. Of this, too, they were deprived under the succeeding sovereign; and the motives of that privation, as they are clearly to be traced in the histories of the time, deserve to be stated, no less than those of the act of King William, for the benefit of those who are in the habit of extolling the steady policy or necessary severities of our ancestors.

The Catholics had lain prostrate and unoffending from the hour of the capitulation of Limerick; they were benumbed and confounded by the shock which finally overthrew them; and had neither given any alarm or disturbance to their conquerors by tumults or insurrections, nor been dectected in any such correspondence with the exiled monarch, as had unquestionably been maintained between him and the Protestant chieftains of Scotland. They had lain quiet during the rebellion which raged in that country; and there seemed to be no pretext, therefore, for aggravating the condition of their bondage, or for taking away the only privilege which connected them with the constitution of their country. The real key to the transaction, we believe to be the following: Ireland had hitherto been ruled entirely by an *English* faction; but these foreign rulers came by degrees to be identified with the Protestant natives. 'The English,' as Mr Burke observes, 'as they began to be domiciliated, began also to recollect that they had a country;—what was at first strictly an English interest, by faint and almost insensible degrees, but at length, openly and avowedly, became an *independent Irish interest*.' This new and independent power, however, was naturally viewed with great jealousy by the agents of the English Government; and it seems to have been the great aim of the faction, of which Primate Boulter was the head, to counteract and depress it. Holding the greater part of the property, and being permanently connected with the internal prosperity of the island, there was reason to dread that this new Irish interest would seek to unite itself with the great body of the Catholic population, and, by their means, obtain a decisive superiority over the foreign agents and their dependants, who had hitherto governed at their discretion. The only resource, therefore, appeared to be to deprive the Catholics of all power and influence whatsoever, and thus to render them both more averse to coalesce with any Protestant interest, and incapable of making any addition of strength by their coalition. This was effected by taking away their elective franchise, and thus disconnecting them in every way from the constitution of the country, and annihilating them altogether in a political capacity.

It is needless to pursue any further the history of Catholic humiliation, or to trace with any minuteness the steps by which it has of late been in some measure retrieved. The question is about

about the propriety of removing the existing restraints and disqualifications; and, after having given this short sketch of the origin and principles of the original system, it is only necessary to state precisely what parts of it remain. The Catholics of Ireland, then, are liable, by the subsisting laws, to the following disabilities. They cannot sit in either of the Houses of Parliament. They cannot be appointed to any of the following offices—Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Chancellor, or Keeper or Commissioner of the Seal, Lord High Treasurer, Chief Justice of K. B. or C. P., Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Judge in four Courts, or of Admiralty, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treasurer, or his Deputy, Teller or Cashier of Exchequer, Auditor-General, Governor or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Chief Governor's Secretary, Privy Councillor, King's Counsel, Sergeants, Attorney, or Solicitor-General, Master in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Postmaster-General, Master and Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, Commander in Chief, Generals on the Staff, Sheriffs and Sub-Sheriffs, nor to the office of Mayor, Bailiff, Recorder, Burgess, or any other office in a City or Corporation, unless the Lord-Lieutenant shall grant a written dispensation to that purpose. No Catholic can be a guardian to a Protestant; and no Catholic priest can be a guardian at all. Catholics are only allowed to have arms under certain restrictions; and no Catholic can be employed as a fowler, or have for sale, or otherwise, any arms or warlike stores. No Catholic can present to an ecclesiastical living,—although dissenters, and even Jews, have been found entitled to this privilege. The pecuniary qualification of Catholic jurors is made higher than that of Protestants; and no relaxation of the ancient rigorous code is permitted, except to those who shall take the oath and declaration prescribed by 13. and 14. Geo. III. c. 3.

Such is the state of Catholics by law; and by practice and systematic usage, it is rendered still more grievous. There is scarcely an instance of the Lord-Lieutenant having granted his licence to admit them into corporations; and, in practice and effect, they are still as effectually excluded from serving on juries, as if that privilege had not been yielded to them.

The great practical question that remains, therefore, is, Whether those disabilities ought now to be removed or continued?—and this, again, depends evidently upon a comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages which are likely to be produced by their removal.

The advantages stand out in the sight of every one; and scarcely

ly require to be enumerated. The first is, that it would restore to the service of their country a great multitude of persons, whose talents and exertions are now lost, by their exclusion from rewards and honours. The situations to which no Catholic can aspire, are, it will be confessed, the most important in the country; and those which it is of the most consequence to have occupied by talents and virtues. The Catholics, however, form at least two thirds of the Irish population; and not much less, perhaps, than one sixth of the British nation. The evil, then, would be great and flagrant, if it consisted merely in this, that our chance of finding able statesmen and valiant commanders was lessened by one fourth, in consequence of the choice being thus narrowed and restrained; one fourth part of the prizes are thus withdrawn from the lottery, and one whole limb of the empire paralyzed for every noble exertion. This, however, is but a very partial and inadequate view of the evil that results from this system of exclusion. It is not merely of the Chathams and Wolfes, the Nelsons and Foxes, which that system condemns to inaction and obscurity, that the nation is deprived, but of all that vast harvest of ascending talent and liberal exertion which would be reaped from those whom their example would call into competition. The high prizes of office and command can come but to a few; but the hope and excitement which they produce, extend to innumerable multitudes; and the public receives the reward of its prudent munificence, not so much in the eminent services of the individuals who monopolize its distinctions, as in the general zeal and activity which is excited by the spectacle of their promotion. By the exclusion of one fourth part of its subjects from the honours of the state, the public is defrauded not only of one fourth of the illustrious characters who would have advanced its interest in these high stations, but of an equal proportion of the subordinate, but important and indispensable services that would have been performed by those who were ambitious of such distinctions.

The second great advantage of the emancipation would be, that it would regain the affections, and secure the allegiance, of four millions of people, who must necessarily be discontented as long as it is withheld, and from whose impatience and resentment the most serious evils, and the most tremendous dangers, may otherwise be apprehended. This is a consideration which is paramount to every other; and the antagonists of the cause, while they feel its force, have laboured to counteract its effects by more suggestions than can well be reconciled to each other. In the first place, they have denied that there is any considerable discontent, or tendency to disaffection, among the body of Irish Catholics.

Catholics. The answer to this, however, is to be found in facts that admit of no dispute or controversy. In the rebellions and insurrections which have agitated that unhappy country for the last twelve years;—in the military law, under which a great part of it suffered for no less a time, and in the great military force which it is still necessary to maintain;—in the constant jealousy and precaution of the government;—in the late insurrection bill, and the public avowal then made by the great advocate of Irish loyalty, of the existence of a French party in the heart of the kingdom;—finally, in the arguments and assertions of the adversaries of emancipation themselves, when it suits them, to change their ground, and to insist on the jacobinism, cruelty, and disaffection, which are inherent in the profession of popery.

Taking for granted, then, the fact of Catholic discontent, which is but too notorious, the opponents of emancipation must contend, that it is a very unreasonable discontent, and that it would not be cured by the remedy which is now suggested. The truth of the latter proposition depends evidently upon the first. If the disabilities to which the Catholics are liable, are not actual and sufficient causes for their discontent, it is certainly reasonable to conclude, that it will not be cured by removing those disabilities. But, on the other hand, if it can be shown that those very disabilities, which are confessedly the ostensible grounds of complaint, are also quite sufficient to account for it in reality, then, it seems to follow, with equal certainty, that it may be effectually cured by their removal. At first sight, indeed, it may not appear very natural or probable, that the exclusion of two or three hundred opulent individuals from Parliament, and from the high offices of the civil and military departments, should operate as a source of general irritation and discontent with the great body of the peasantry and mechanics: And it has been asked, what sort of interest the potatoe-fed tenant of a cabin could be supposed to have in the nomination of Lords Lieutenant and Masters of the Ordnance? A very little consideration, however, will show the fallacy of this mode of reasoning. In the first place, all who are actually excluded, and all who think they are excluded by this system, must necessarily be very much irritated and discontented; and, as their influence must naturally be very great over their inferiors of the same persuasion, it would not be wonderful, if the whole body were to be infected with those feelings, from that principle alone. But the original impression of disappointment and injustice comes infinitely lower down than to those who from rank or qualification, might have aspired immediately to the forbidden honours. Every youth, whom ambition or vanity inspires with the hope of distinction, arrogates to himself those honours in

in imagination, and resents all peremptory exclusion, perhaps yet more fiercely than him to whom their possession would be less a distinction. Every brave cadet who gets an ensign's commission in a regiment of militia;—every poor scholar who gains a prize at a provincial academy;—every attorney's apprentice who corrects the blunders of his instructor, looks forward to honours and dignities at the close of his career, as well as to emolument during its continuance; and is cheered, in his obscurest labours, by the prospect of emerging, at last, to power and distinction. It will scarcely be believed, by those who have not made the inquiry, how much these dreams of future glory contribute to lighten and exalt the humblest toils, in which talent or vanity can serve their apprenticeship; and how beneficially they bind those restless qualities to the constitutional establishments, in which they have their original. To the whole body of Catholics, however, this land of golden promise is proscribed. Whatever may be their talents or pretensions, they must drudge on, with no other reward but sordid emolument; or, if they indulge in visions of honour and elevation, must necessarily connect those pleasing ideas with anticipations of political change and revolution. In this way it is conceived to be manifest, that the whole active and energetic part of the Catholics must consider themselves as directly injured and affronted by the exclusions to which they are liable; and, as the inferior mass of the population scarcely every acts but from the impulse of the higher, nothing more seems to be requisite to account for the general dissatisfaction of the Catholics with their present condition.

Independent of this altogether, it is to be considered, that those who are excluded, are so excluded on account of those principles and that profession of faith which they hold in common with the rest, and by their attachment to which they are all united in one interest. It is natural for the lowest Catholics to think that their condition would be amended, if persons of their persuasion were freely admitted to the Legislature,—the Bench,—the Magistracy,—and Army. At all events, it is impossible that they should not feel that the condition of the whole body would be more honourable; and this is a feeling which operates more powerfully, even in the very lowest classes of society, than legislators always seem to have been aware of.

Of all the feelings in which resentment and dislike, either individual or general, can take its origin, the most common, most prolific, and most powerful, is that of insult and unmerited contempt. The love of estimation is rooted so firmly in human nature, that there is scarcely an individual so debased as not to be more affected by an affront than an injury; and much more likely to resent unmerited scorn than unprovoked

provoked malignity. Now, the exclusion of Catholics from all offices and situations of honour and dignity, and that solely on account of their being Catholics, cannot fail to be felt by them as an insult and opprobrium on their faith, and to remind them, that they are a degraded and inferior people. In whatever situation a Catholic may be placed individually, he must still feel that he belongs to a despised and humiliated order, and must be prone to all those movements of resentment and dissatisfaction which belong to those who are undeservedly dishonoured. It is this feeling, we are persuaded, far more than the actual hardships and privations to which they are subjected, that has generated among the Catholics that spirit of disaffection which it would be in vain to deny or dissemble; and that impatience for the removal of their remaining badges of inferiority, which has sometimes appeared more turbulent than the object could justify. It is a feeling which necessarily arises in such a situation, and which has often been known to produce effects at least as formidable as any which have yet been either experienced, or anticipated from Catholic combinations. We formerly alluded to the early and obstinate dissensions of the patricians and plebeians of ancient Rome, which originated in this very feeling. But a more recent and impressive illustration may be found in the history of the French revolution. All rational people are now agreed, that the true cause of that monstrous commotion was the obstinate exclusion of the lower orders from places of distinction and authority. The roturier and the noble were pretty nearly equal with regard to all the substantial rights which affected person or property; and it was the latter, much more frequently than the former, that felt the effects of what was arbitrary and oppressive in the constitution of the monarchy. The roturier, however, was excluded, in a great degree, from high military command, or civil offices of the first distinction,—and this alone proved sufficient to produce a spirit of general discontent and disaffection, which speedily overthrew the whole frame of the society. The immediate effects of the exclusion could reach but to a few;—but the sense of injustice and partiality communicated itself to the whole body. The lowest individual felt his share of the contumely which it inflicted on his order, and resented and rebelled against those ancient arrangements which withheld from that order its full share of the honours and distinctions of the nation. What the roturier was in France, the Catholic is in Ireland;—and, if his conduct should ultimately be the same, it will not be without a precedent, nor those who provoke it, without a warning.

There is nothing overcharged in this parallel; on the contrary, we believe, that it does not represent the degraded state of the Irish

Irish Catholics with sufficient force and effect. The lower orders in France, we believe, laboured under fewer disabilities than the Catholics of Ireland; and those disabilities they owed to their birth, of which they were generally ashamed, and not to their religion, to which it was their duty to procure respect and honour. They paid no tythes to a sect they disapproved—they had no recollection of having been sharers in the privileges they envied—and, if they were liable to slights and insults from those who enjoyed all the proud distinctions of office, still those were almost uniformly tempered by the forbearance and good-breeding which naturally belonged to nobility;—finally, they had never been opposed in open hostility to their superiors, nor mingled the remembrance of ancient enmity and merciless victory with the grudgings of their present inequality. If that vast insurrection, therefore, the consequences of which have shaken the world to its foundations, be held to be sufficiently accounted for by referring to the disabilities and exclusions of the *tiers etat*, after it came to hanker after the offices from which it was debarred, there seems to be no difficulty in accounting for the general discontent and impatience of the Irish Catholics, and no great hazard in predicting similar consequences from the continued rejection of their claims.

This conclusion we should think ourselves warranted to draw, from the mere consideration of the law as it stands with regard to this body; but if we take into view the well authenticated accounts of the feelings and practices to which the law has given occasion, we shall be disposed to wonder how any hesitation should ever have been expressed as to its adoption. Throughout Ireland, a Protestant alone is qualified with the appellation of 'an honest man;' and, in common speech, the Catholics are still designated by terms of contempt and abhorrence. In some places, the passing bell is rung out in a brisk and merry measure when one of them dies. The obnoxious magistracy which superintended the floggings and executions which attended the suppression of the rebellion, is still continued in office; and the bloodhounds of the Orange faction are still caressed in the courts of the Castle. Catholics, as we have already noticed, are systematically excluded from serving on juries; and instances are by no means wanting, where the protestantism of the jury has been sufficiently distinguishable on the face of their verdict. In some counties, a general combination has actually been entered into to drive all Catholics from among them, by menaces and actual violence,—and the magistracy, from fear, or from baser motives, have remained quiet spectators of an outrage so enormous. This last statement we should have declined to make upon any thing that could appear questionable authority; but when we find it contained

contained in an address by a Protestant peer, the resident governor of the county to which he alludes, and delivered by him to the magistrates of that county, assembled by his summons for the express purpose of taking it into consideration, we conceive that little doubt can be entertained of its accuracy, and are convinced it is of importance that such truth should be generally known. Lord Gossford, the chief magistrate of the county of Armagh, is said, in a published speech, which has never been disavowed or disputed, to have addressed the following statement to the magistrates of that county.

'*It is no secret*, that a persecution, accompanied by all the circumstances of feriocious cruelty, which have, in all ages, distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county; neither age nor sex, nor acknowledged innocence, as to any guilt in the late disturbance, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime indeed of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a person professing that faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible;--it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription; which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can supply. For, where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelty have we read of more than half the inhabitants of a populous county, deprived at one blow of the means, as well as the fruits of their industry; and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families, where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this county. Those horrors *are now acting with impunity*: the spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing more than an instrument of tyranny), has, for a time, disappeared in this county; and the *supineness* of the magistrates of Armagh, is become the common topic of conversation in every corner of this kingdom. I know my own heart, and I should despise myself, if, under any intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.' *

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* We have not been able to learn exactly the date of this address;—

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If such be the actual state of the Catholics of Ireland, we think we may very safely assume our first proposition as completely established, viz. that their discontent and tendency to disaffection is sufficiently accounted for by the privations, disabilities and hardships, to which they are subjected. If this be the case, however, we do not very well see how it is possible to hesitate upon the second proposition,—that the removal of these disabilities and hardships could effectually eradicate that spirit of disaffection. It is no doubt true, that some of the most grievous and intolerable of those hardships are not directly imposed by the law, and might not cease, perhaps, immediately upon its abolition. But they originate, unquestionably, in habits and feelings which the law originally suggested, and still encourages and foments. When any order of men is directly degraded by the law, and placed, though even in matters of inconsiderable moment, in a contemptible or humiliated position, the consequence infallibly will be, that they will become objects of contempt and distrust in all things, and will be habitually subjected to the insults and oppressions of those who are placed above them. The multitude of men is naturally disposed to domineer and insult their inferiors. If the law gives them this licence in any degree, they are sure to abuse it; if it countenance their insolence in any thing, it will be unable to check it in any other; and the sanction which it affords to a certain measure of oppression, will be made the warrant and pretext for unmeasured usurpation. In all cases, indeed, of inequality of conditions, the laws only lay the foundation, on which usage erects the superstructure; they set the example, on which practice improves; and only give the first local impulse to that vast undulation which embraces the whole expanse of society.

If this, however, be the true theory of the *origin* of those habits and feelings from which the Catholics suffer still more than from their legal disabilities, there seems to be no reason for doubting that it would hold equally in regard to their *cessation*. If their root is the law, they must wither and die away when that root is extirpated. It is evidently impossible, indeed, to conceive that Catholics should be regarded by the country with distrust or contempt, if they were openly treated with respect and confidence

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we copy it from p. 19. of an account of the proceedings at a general meeting of Catholics in April 1807; and as it is there quoted to illustrate the actual condition of that body, we presume that it was but recently delivered; at all events it evidently refers to a period subsequent to the late rebellions.

dence by the Legislature. If they had not been pointed out to vulgar prejudice and malignity by legal exclusions and disabilities, they would never have been distinguished from their fellow subjects except by their individual character; and, indeed, it is evidently impossible that they should long be regarded as objects either of hatred or of scorn, if they were seen in the Senate or on the Bench—at the head of the law or the army,—if their nobles appeared adorned with badges of honour in the presence of their Sovereign—and their merchants and country gentlemen took their places in corporations and local magistracies.

There, are, indeed, certain other evils from which the peasantry of Ireland have long suffered, independent of the laws relating to Popery; and, without some redress of which, it is scarcely to be expected that either Protestant or Catholic will be quite prosperous or contented. One is, the nonresidence of the landed proprietors, and the occasional oppressions of the middlemen; the other is, the nonresidence of the clergy, and the prevailing practice of farming out the tithes to certain middlemen of another description; who again let them out, in smaller portions, to more rigid exactors; and in this way draw from the poor farmer, in some instances, more than double of what is actually paid to the clergyman. This oppressive practice is the source of great discontent to the whole agricultural population, whether Catholic or Protestant; but the load falls no doubt much heavier on the former, from whom this great contribution is extorted for the support of an establishment in which he has no interest, and who has his own priesthood to maintain into the bargain. It is with great pleasure that we have observed, in the public papers, some recent proceedings of the Irish proprietors themselves, with a view to remedy this great evil; and we earnestly hope that their suggestions will meet with such countenance from the Legislature as their importance and equity so evidently deserve.

In the mean time, we conceive we may safely assume the second part of our original proposition, that the repeal of the remaining disabilities of the Catholic body would unquestionably regain the affections, and secure the loyalty of that great body,—render unnecessary the great military establishment which is now required to keep them in subjection,—and deliver the nation at large from the dangers and apprehensions which must constantly result from their depression. We do not say that this effect would follow immediately on the passing of the law. Some little time must be allowed for the subsidence of the waves, and the purification of the waters; but if the winds be once shut up in their caverns, the subsidence and purification will instantly begin; and no long period will be required for the complete restoration of tranquillity. The heartburnings and jealousies,—the fears and

resentments which now divide the Catholic and Protestant population, would be gradually and even speedily composed, if they were left to subsist merely upon the remembrance of past excesses,—if they were not perpetually fostered by the feeling of actual degradation, and the temptation to new oppressions, which is derived from the present state of the law. Of the two parties, the Protestants would be the last to lay aside their animosities, —if it be true that they are always the slowest to forgive, who have been guilty of the greatest injustice.

The case of Scotland affords a remarkable illustration of the very obvious truths on which we have now been insisting. During the reign of Charles II. and of his successor, the Presbyterians of this country, forming the great majority of the inhabitants, were not only saddled with an Episcopal establishment, but subjected to the most barbarous persecution on account of their nonconformity. The consequence was, that the country, though attached by ancient and hereditary prejudices to the ruling family, was in a state of perpetual ferment and constant insurrection. The wretched peasants were hunted and shot at their conventicles; and, in revenge, the military were massacred in ambuscades, and the mitre itself proved no defence against the rage of an oppressed and exasperated multitude. A civil war, in short, of the most odious description, was carried on with little intermission, in the most civilized parts of the country; and the discontents, originating in religious intolerance, had risen to such an height, as leaves little room to doubt that the country would have been lost for ever to the crown of England, if the Revolution, with its healing system of toleration, had not come to restore the allegiance of the nation, by redressing its grievances. The effects of this liberal policy are, if possible, still more striking than those of the intolerance which it came to remedy. The Presbyterian spirit has been commonly supposed to have in it something of a refractory and republican character; nor was there any want of plausibility in the arguments of those, who maintained, in their day, that no indulgence could safely be shown to a system, which was evidently hostile to monarchy in all its principles, forms, and proceedings. The result has been, however, that the Presbyterians were no sooner delivered from persecution, and set free from disabilities, than they became the most loyal of all subjects. The inhabitants of this part of the island, at least, have not, for the last century, given any very turbulent proofs of their dislike of kingly power, or of dispositions peculiarly untractable to the views of an Episcopal ministry. So far, on the contrary, has the stiffness of their original Calvinism been softened down by the indulgence with which they have been treated, that Scotchmen are not only to be found

found among the most zealous partizans of Government, but the General Assembly of their church has recently expressed their gratitude to his Majesty, for his vigilance in watching over those bulwarks of the rival establishment, which were originally erected for their exclusion; and have thus exhibited to the Christian world a most edifying spectacle of charitableness and moderation. The army and the navy are filled with staunch presbyterians; and the sons of those very men, who rose in arms against a government which made their religion a ground of persecution and contempt, are, now that they are rescued from insult and oppression, the most devoted of its defenders.

Let any man contrast the present state of Scotland, as to loyalty, tranquillity, and security, with what it was in the reign of Charles the Second, or during the whole time when the prevailing religion was discountenanced; and then let him ask himself, in what condition he conceives it would have stood at this moment, if the establishment of Episcopacy had been upheld in that country by the same means that Protestantism has been upheld in Ireland, and if Presbyterians had been subjected to all the disqualifications, and exposed to all the insults and injuries, which are now the lot of Catholics in the neighbouring island? Is there any one who does not see, that, instead of a pattern of loyalty, and a nursery for our soldiers and sailors, it would have been a centre of sedition and discontent, and required the controul of more forces than it now supplies;—that, instead of adding to the strength of the empire, it would have been a source of weakness and apprehension; and would have been, in one word, like Ireland, the seat of rebellion, and the point of attack for every power with which we were at enmity?

In what we have hitherto been saying, we have considered the question of policy in a general and abstract point of view, and without any reference to the actual circumstances of the empire. The advantage which we have now held out as the reward of Catholic emancipation, is the restoration of allegiance, and of tranquillity in general, and the deliverance of the country at large, from the fear and the danger of insurrection, which we have concluded to be attainable in no other way. Even on this view of the matter, the advantage is of such magnitude as to make its attainment the first duty of the statesman, and the leading object of every well wisher to his country. It is not doing justice, however, to the argument, to consider it only in this general and limited point of view; and the strongest and most irresistible ground of policy on which the Catholics can now claim their emancipation is suppressed, if we overlook the actual condition of the country.

It is needless to remind any of our aders of the present situation of Europe, or of the dangers which menace this country. We live in a most melancholy and momentous crisis of every thing that relates to the public; nor is it possible for any rational being to take into computation the resources, the ambition, and animosity of the enemy, without feeling that there is room for great apprehnesion as to the result of this arduous contest. We may be successfully invaded by a foreign power, and our whole boasted and cherished system of government, religion, and commerce, may be overwhelmed in an instant. This is the great and tremendous evil, within the peril of which we now stand. There are other miseries, and even other catastrophes, with which we are threatened by the continuance of the war; but this is the giant hazard which shrinks all the rest into insignificance. The failure of our finances,—the destruction of our trade,—the corruption of our constitution, are all distant and resistible evils. That we may be conquered by France, is the present and transcendant danger; and it is to avert it, that all our efforts must now be directed.

Now, is there a single individual who has ever shaped to himself the form of this tremendous hazard, without thinking instantly of Ireland as the point of danger and attack? In England every one takes it for granted, that an invading army would meet with none but indignant and united opponents. In Ireland, every one takes it for granted that it would meet with guides and allies. What is the reason of this difference? And by what means is it to be effaced? All candid men, we think, must answer, that it is produced by the depression of the Catholic population of Ireland; and that it may be removed by their emancipation. Both positions, however, have been cavilled at; and it is necessary to say a word or two in their defence.

The fundamental fact, we suppose, will be readily conceded. Every one knows that Ireland is less secure than England. The late rebellions—the great military establishment—the insurrection bill—the armament of Hoche and the progress of Humbert, demonstrate it. It is only as to the cause of this insecurity, that opinions can possibly be divided. The enemies of the Catholics are ready enough to admit that it is owing to that body. It is the Catholics themselves, that, for the most part, deny this allegation. It becomes them, perhaps, as petitioners, to say so; and, so far as regards the respectable and intelligent individiduals to whom the prosecution of their claims has been entrusted, we have no doubt that they say true. But with regard to the great body of the Catholic peasantry, we find it difficult to believe them; and think there is sufficient evidence, in existing facts and recent circumstances, to ascertain that the insecurity of

of Ireland is mainly owing to the discontent of its Catholic population. It is scarcely denied now, that all the late rebellions originated, and were chiefly fomented, by this discontent. The agitators and recruiting officers of the rebel army, were the Catholic priests. Now, whatever principle will make men rebel, will almost infallibly induce them to join a foreign enemy against the government whose oppressions had provoked their rebellion. We cannot enter into the romantic distinction between avenging yourself with your own hand and with that of an ally. When a civil war has once broke out, the opposed party is, to all intents and purposes, a public enemy; and the very same principles which induce a belligerent to seek for allies among his neighbours, seem to justify the recurrence of either to foreign assistance. If it be admitted, therefore, that many of the Catholics are disposed to rebel against England, there seems little room to doubt that they would join a French army against her. They might, indeed, be disposed to stipulate that their foreign auxiliaries should not be in such numbers as to be able to domineer over both parties; but there seems to be no intelligible reason for doubting, that they would much more readily take part against that power from whom they had already hazarded a revolt, than against those who came to attack it, with professions of zeal for their deliverance. The matter, however, seems to be pretty clearly settled by the fact, that the desperate standard of Humbert was joined by several thousands of Catholics,—by the public admission of the existence of a French party in Ireland,—by the assemblage of Catholic rebels and refugees at Paris,—by the language of some of the Catholic body at their general meeting at Dublin in February last,—and by the pious concern manifested by the French bishops for their oppressed brethren in our islands.

We have stated already, that we argue this whole question on grounds of expediency alone. The fact, therefore, is all with which we have any concern; it is no part of our present business to determine whether the Catholics would act prudently or virtuously in making such an election; our opinion certainly is, that they would not. Open rebellion and violence commonly ends in the establishment of military despotism; and, even where it is excited by real and intolerable grievances, usually does no more than purchase a different form of oppression, at a price which would be too high for one generation to pay for effectual redress. In the present case, we think the hazard greater than usual, and the prospect of amelioration much more dubious and feeble. If the Irish throw off the dominion of England by the assistance of France, the probability is, that both Ireland and England will fall under the dominion of France; and, grievous as the Catholics now conceive their

condition to be, it appears to us to admit of little doubt, that, in that event, the whole body of the people, including the Catholics, would speedily be reduced to a condition infinitely more miserable. This is the way in which we reason; and, in this way, we verily believe that very many of the leading and intelligent Catholics reason also. But the great body will not reason in this way. Like other great bodies, they will act from passion, and prejudice, and misguided zeal; and will be directed in actions over which reason has no influence, by crazy bigots, or desperate and unprincipled adventurers. If nations were guided by reason, we should have little oppression, and probably neither war nor rebellion in the world. In reasoning on the probable conduct of men, no supposition could be so sure to mislead us as this; nor can any argument against the likelihood of any act of a multitude be so inconclusive, as that it appears to be improper or unwise. All that we have to proceed upon in such cases, is the experience of similar occurrences; and if men have generally rebelled or proved refractory, in certain situations, though uniformly and manifestly to their own prejudice in the main, we may conclude, with tolerable certainty, that they will rebel again in similar situations; and are inexcuseable if we do not take our measures upon that supposition. Now, the fact is, that the causes of discontent among the Irish Catholics, are precisely the causes which have most generally led to rebellion and revolution in every age of the world; and after having seen them in our own day produce this very fruit on that very soil, it must be the height of infatuation to suppose that it will not be produced again, as soon as the elements conspire to ripen it to a harvest. With the merit or demerit of the Catholics, in such schemes of rebellion, we have at present no concern. We look at the question in the light of policy only; and, being satisfied that it is very probable that many of them would join in such schemes, and that their so doing would be of the utmost detriment to this country, we conceive that it is our duty to employ the most effectual means to prevent or dissuade them, whatever may be our opinion of the absurdity and wickedness of their project. It may be very wicked and absurd for Turks to beat and spit upon us, merely for laughing at their beards or their prophet; but if we dislike being beaten, we will certainly abstain from provoking them, and, for our own sakes, either learn, or counterfeit, a respect for their prejudices. There is nothing so insane, and even inconsistent, in politics, as that valiant and overweening spirit, which sometimes leads men to say that they will do nothing out of fear, which they would not have done out of good-will; and that they will even refuse a reasonable demand, if it

it be made in circumstances in which their compliance might be construed into an apprehension of the consequences. This is rather a lofty and romantic rule for the conduct of individuals; but it is evidently altogether absurd, when applied to that of nations. There, the only thing that can ever be properly considered, is the probable consequence of what is in contemplation; and every nation that abstains from seizing whatever it would be convenient for it to possess; or consents to yield, what it would be for its interest to retain, is governed entirely by fear of the consequences of an opposite conduct. We must provide for our own security and prosperity. This is our whole political duty; and as we cannot make all other nations wise and virtuous according to our own conception of these qualities, we must discharge this duty in the best way that we can, by giving way to their folly when we cannot oppose it, and diverting their malice, when we cannot chastise it. We must make treaties with Algiers, and capitulations with rebels and pirates.

Taking it for granted, then, that many of the Irish Catholics, if left in their present condition, would be disposed to join a foreign invader, the only remaining question is, Whether this disposition would be effectually removed, by granting them the emancipation for which they have been so long struggling? This point we have already endeavoured to settle; and it is needless to go back upon it. The injuries and affronts which the Catholic body have sustained for a century, have, no doubt, generated in many minds an irritation, that will not be immediately extinguished; and turbulent spirits probably exist in the country, who, without any real concern about the cause of these oppressions, will be disposed to keep the irritation alive, as an instrument for the furtherance of their own desperate and ambitious projects. But, that the great body of the Catholics would be conciliated by the success of their petition, and the influence of those who have farther views, prodigiously diminished, seems to admit of no serious doubt. All the sincere, the moderate, the peaceable, intelligent and timid, would instantly be linked to the side of government; and the most dangerous *pretext* would be taken from those who, with far other motives, had joined and exasperated their clamours. By a little discretion in the management of the priests, and by a truly pacific and conciliating administration of the law as it would then stand, we have no sort of doubt, that four-fifths of the discontented Catholics would be gained over *immediately* by the emancipation; and that in a very few years, there would be as little hazard of rebellion in Ireland, as there is, at this moment, in the other parts of the United Kingdom.

If there be *any* truth, however, in what we have now been saying:- If the emancipation of the Catholics would tend, in any considerable degree, to make that country more secure and pacific;—if it would reconcile and attach to government any considerable number of those who are now alienated or disaffected, is there any man who will not say that this is an advantage of the most incalculable importance to the empire at large, and one against which it is scarcely to be conceived that any other considerations should, at the present crisis, be listened to? The hazard to which we are exposed, at this instant, is too dreadful to admit of any hesitation as to the course which we ought to pursue. The Catholics of Ireland, in their present state, are likely to join an invading enemy in great numbers. If they so join him, it is evidently very doubtful whether Ireland can be saved from conquest; and if Ireland be lost, it seems most probable that England cannot long be preserved. The emancipation of the Catholics would infallibly reconcile many, and abate the animosity of all; it would disarm the agitators of their most powerful and plausible pretext; and, if accompanied by a system of genuine conciliation, could scarcely fail to compose all differences, and unite the whole population in defence of the rights and privileges which they would then possess in common. In this situation, it must be admitted, that the disadvantages of the measure must be shown to be strong and terrible indeed, before they can justify us in withholding it, or determine us to endure all the evils and dangers to which we must be subject till it is adopted. We shall now endeavour, therefore, to determine what are these disadvantages.

Before entering upon this subject, it is worth while, however, to remark, that the greater part of them seem only to have occurred to the various authors and orators, by whom they have lately been brought forward, since the recent change of administration may have suggested the prudence and popularity of such an exposition. While the late ministry were in power, and it was generally understood that a disposition to relieve the Catholics prevailed among those who had the chief management of affairs, a most singular and cautious silence was observed upon the topics which are now so loudly resounded; and the measure that has since been so clamorously abused, was announced and brought forward with a greater appearance of acquiescence and approbation, both in Parliament and out of it, than any measure of equal importance which has lately been proposed or adopted in this country. The watchmen of the church, as they have since ingenuously confessed, slumbered at their posts;—the guardians of the constitution were lulled into perfect security;—and the keeper of the King's conscience could discover nothing that afforded the remotest reason

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for alarm. It was the custom to talk, in good company, of the approaching emancipation of the Catholics; and the good-natured men of all parties began to discover, that if it was cautiously set about, there was no great harm to be apprehended.

All at once, certain conscientious scruples suggested themselves in a certain quarter; and, while the public reckoned confidently on the bill in question being carried almost without a debate or a division, it was suddenly withdrawn; and the ministry, who had had the temerity to introduce it, were displaced in a body. Upon this unexpected occurrence, it is marvellous to consider the sudden illumination which broke in upon the minds of all the loyal and orthodox pamphleteers of this intellectual kingdom. It was instantaneously discovered that the measure in question was big with danger to the civil and religious liberties of the nation; that it was the immediate forerunner of Popery, persecution, and Antichrist; and that, besides inferring the guilt of subornation of perjury, in the most aggravated of all imaginable cases, it paved the way for the subjugation of this country by Irish rebels and foreign Catholics in alliance. Such a diabolical contrivance, in short, had not been heard of since the days of Guy Fawkes and his lantern; and clergy and laity were called to join in thanksgivings to his Majesty for the escape which his firmness had procured for us. The beauty of all this was, that the project and arguments which drew forth those animated strains from so many eloquent mouths, had lain upon the breakfast tables of those orthodox and disinterested persons for several weeks before, and had been perused and laid aside by them, without exciting the smallest emotion of alarm or indignation. It was not till it was discovered that there was to be a change of ministry on account of them, that they germinated into those fine flowers of loyalty and zeal, from which the nation has since derived such incalculable benefit. We have taken some pains to procure all the pamphlets which have been published on this interesting subject; and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, there does not appear to have been more than two or three written previous to that event, which made it so prudent and profitable to multiply their number. Up to that very hour, there never was a measure, we believe, of the same magnitude, which excited so little discussion, or met with so little opposition among the tribe of political writers; and, if it had not been for the change of ministry, we are perfectly certain that we should never have seen nor heard of one hundredth part o those profound performances, in which the impolicy of the Catholic emancipation is so satisfactorily demonstrated. The origin of these productions, however, has, to be sure, in strict reasoning, no necessary connection with their intrinsic merit; and, though it

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is not usual to find the best arguments only brought forward to support an unexpected decision, any more than to find the bravest troops employed only in plundering *after* an unexpected victory, it is still proper to consider the real value of what *has* been urged upon a question of such infinite importance, without allowing ourselves to be prejudiced by any consideration of the quarter from which it proceeds, or the circumstances in which it has been brought forward.

The leading objection to the Catholic emancipation is, that it would import a violation of the King's coronation-oath, by which his Majesty has sworn to 'maintain the Protestant reformed religion as established by law, and to preserve to the bishops and 'clergy of the realm, and to the churches committed to their 'charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them.' A great deal has been said about this oath; in our humble apprehension very little to the purpose,—as nothing, we conceive, can be clearer, than that the Catholic petition might be granted, without infringing one tittle on the letter or the spirit of it: but, as the subject, though of no difficulty, is of very great importance, we shall beg leave to state, in a few words, the leading reasons by which we apprehend that the objection founded upon it may be got over.

In the *first* place, we conceive it to be quite plain, that the oath has no reference at all to the conduct of the King as a branch of the Legislature, but was intended merely to restrain him in the exercise of his prerogative, or of such functions as he might discharge as an individual. It was intended to bind him, by religious sanctions, to observe the law; but by no means to tie up his hands from consenting to such new laws as his Parliament should choose to propose to him. It was intended to guard against the usurpations and outrages of another Mary or James, and not to cripple the salutary powers of the whole Legislature. This is perfectly evident from the very nature of the contrivance; and it is expressly stated and enforced, both in the debates by which the terms of the oath were settled, and by those that took place, shortly after, on a proposal to modify some parts of it. See Grey, Vol. VIII. & IX.

In the *second* place, it is to be remembered, that this is a promissory oath imposed by Parliament upon the Sovereign; and that it is of the nature of all obligations of this sort, that they may be released and discharged by the party by whom, or for whose behalf, they were imposed. If the Parliament of Great Britain, therefore, propose any law to the King which might appear to contradict the tenor of this promissory engagement, it is plain, that, by that very proposition, they release him from the engagement,

engagement, and discharge at once all obligation that might be founded upon it.

These considerations would evidently take away the objection founded on the coronation-oath, even if the measures objected to were admitted to be in contradiction to its provisions. It is most material, however, to observe, in the *third* place, that to relieve all Catholics from civil disabilities, and to make them capable of every civil function in the kingdom, would not infringe on one article of that oath upon any known or intelligible rule of construction. The oath is, to maintain the Protestant religion, and the rights of the Protestant church. Now, are the Catholics asking that the Protestant religion shall be disowned, or the Protestant establishment supplanted? Do they pretend, in the smallest degree, to trench upon the rights and privileges of that establishment, or even to claim for their own faith any emolument or honour whatsoever? Their claim relates not to ecclesiastical matters at all;—it concerns their civil rights and capacities only;—and imports, merely, that they shall not be excluded, on account of their religion, from any situation in the civil or military department for which they are otherwise qualified. Is it possible to say, that the Protestant religion would not be maintained, nor the Protestant churches secured in their lawful rights, if Catholic gentlemen were admitted to Parliament, and to high as well as to low appointments in the law and the army? As long as the Protestant religion is the only one that receives honours and emoluments by the law of the land, and as long as those honours and emoluments remain unimpaired, it is evident that the Protestant religion is maintained in the most comprehensive sense of that term; and that the King's obligation to maintain it, is not in the least affected by his consenting to any arrangement which Parliament may make as to the civil privileges and capacities of any class of his subjects.

But, in the *fourth* place, we must remark, that even if it were possible, in any case, to admit of such a strained interpretation of the oath in question, it is established, by historical facts, that it never was, and never can be adopted in the present instance. The King, in the first clause of his coronation-oath, swears 'to 'govern according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and 'to the laws and customs of this realm;' and in the clause relating to religion, he binds himself to 'maintain the Protestant 'reformed religion, *as established by law*.' Now, there are only two ways of interpreting these obligations. The laws here referred to, must either mean the laws which may be successively enacted by the Legislature,—or the laws which had been enacted, and were actually in force when the coronation-oath was framed.

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If the former supposition be adopted, then there is an end of the question; for, the relief which is now claimed by the Catholics is a Legislative relief; and the laws by which they are set free from their present disabilities, will then be the laws according to which his Majesty has sworn to govern his people, and to maintain his church. If, on the other hand, it be alleged, that the laws referred to in the oath were the laws then in existence, and that the intention of that obligation was, to restrain the Sovereign from consenting to any measure by which the rights and privileges of his people, referable to religion, might even indirectly be varied, then it follows, that in order to implement and render effectual that provision, the Catholic petition should instantly be granted, and the whole privileges, to which they there lay claim, instantly confirmed to them by the Legislature. For it is a fact which has been studiously kept out of view by the enemies of this claim, that *at the time when the present coronation-oath was framed, and taken by King William, Catholics sat in both Houses of Parliament in Ireland, and were eligible to all offices, civil and military.* The oath was framed in the first year of William and Mary; and Catholics were only deprived of the rights which they are now seeking to regain, by the acts of the 3d and 4th of those Sovereigns, and by the 1st and 2d of Queen Anne. This dilemma, it is humbly conceived, brings the whole question to a very short issue, and seems to render any further discussion superfluous.

We may remark, however, in the *last* place, that the question seems to have been practically settled, in the course of the present reign, in a way that makes it difficult to imagine upon what ground it can now be supposed attended with any difficulty. The objection is, that to admit Catholics to civil rights and privileges, from which they were formerly excluded, is, in an indirect manner, to attack and expose the Protestant establishment; and that the King, therefore, cannot admit them to such privileges without a violation of his coronation-oath. Now, if this were the first time that such privileges had been claimed or granted, we can understand, that some of the foregoing considerations might have been necessary, to obviate the scruples in which this objection has its foundation. But it is perfectly well known, that, in the course of the last thirty years, the Catholic subjects of the King have been admitted to a great variety of privileges from which they were formerly excluded; and that the remaining disabilities, of which they now pray the removal, are infinitely fewer in number, and more insignificant in degree, than those for which they are already indebted to the goodness of his Majesty, and the wisdom of his advisers. If the coronation-oath did

did not restrain the King from consenting to the repeal of the great mass of the penal and disqualifying statutes in 1778, 1782, and 1793, by what casuistry can it be shown, that it should now restrain him from repealing the miserable remnant of that disgraceful code,—and, instead of a system fantastically compounded of fair sketches of liberality, and fragments of decayed oppression, ruling all his people by one consistent code of indulgence and justice?

With these few observations, we leave the subject of the coronation oath to the candid consideration of our readers; and regret to find, that the length to which we have already extended this article, will oblige us to bestow even less room on the remaining topics of discussion. We are glad, indeed, to be excused, on any terms, from the disgusting task of exposing the wretched bigotry, or pitiful drivelling, of those who have endeavoured to terrify us with the prospect of the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield, the downfall of the Established Church, and the reimposition of St Peter's pence, as the necessary consequences of admitting our Catholic fellow subjects to a fair participation of our civil privileges. It may be observed, however, in general, that all those alarmists proceed upon one very extraordinary supposition, viz. that if Catholics were once admitted to an equality of civil rights, they would speedily succeed in converting the greater part of our Protestant population to their own faith. The Catholics are not at present so much as a fifth part of the whole population; and certainly they do not possess, even in proportion to their numbers, a greater share of wealth, talent, or authority, than their Protestant brethren. Unless, therefore, it be supposed that they are to multiply to such an extent as to constitute the absolute majority of the nation, it is evidently quite inconceivable that they should ever be able, either to subvert our church establishment, or in any other way to infringe on the bulwarks of our constitution. The whole basis of the argument, therefore, on the part of those who profess to see danger, in their emancipation, obviously rests on the supposition, that, if once emancipated, they will be enabled to convert the rest of the people to their own absurd faith. Now this, it must be admitted, is rather a humiliating supposition, on the part of those who boast of the superior reasonableness of their own system: nor was it to be expected, that the posterity of those great divines, who so triumphantly exposed the errors of Popery in the days of its greatest power and reputation, should now admit that its advocates, if put on a level with them in respect of temporals, would certainly reason back the greater part of their flocks to those exploded and discredited errors. The truth is, however, that the apprehen-

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sion is altogether groundless, and, we are half inclined to suspect, in a great majority of cases, affected. It is only when sects are persecuted, that they make converts. Those who are protected in the exercise of their religion, always grow comparatively cool in its cause; and, strange and improbable as it may at first sight appear, the history of the world has demonstrated, that men are never so zealous in the propagation of their faith, as when it exposes them to suffering and reproach; and that proselytes are never made in such abundance as when they and their instructors have a fair prospect of becoming martyrs. If civil privileges and worldly honours give men any advantage in religious disputes, the whole Catholics of Ireland must have been converted by the Protestant clergy half a century ago; but if it be true that that great and opulent establishment, backed by the penal laws of former and of present times, has not been able to make one convert since the first days of its formation, we may easily calculate on the additional progress that Popery is likely to make among us, by removing from the lay part of that communion some of the civil disabilities under which they now labour. So far, indeed, from thinking that the emancipation of the Catholics will have any tendency to multiply their numbers, we are perfectly convinced that it will have the very opposite effect. Men never love the objects of their love so dearly as when they are exposed to insult or danger. When left to their undisturbed enjoyment, they usually subside into indifference or neglect; and, if actually compelled by law to manifest their devotion and attachment, are very frequently beset with weariness and disgust. Paradoxical as it may probably appear, we are fully convinced, that if the Catholic religion had been formally established in Ireland, at the time when the Presbyterian religion was established in Scotland, the majority of the inhabitants would, before this time, have adopted the tenets of the Protestants, and effected a reformation of their own, after the example of their brethren in this island. The oscitancy and languor of all established churches, assisted by the corruptions and abuses to which the Romish establishment is peculiarly liable, would, in all probability, have alienated the greater part of the people from a system already discredited by the secession of the greater part of their fellow-subjects; while the mining of the different Protestant sectaries, would have gradually unsettled the foundation of the fabric; and the fair fame and pure example of the English establishment, tarnished and eclipsed it in the eyes of every candid observer.

In a controversy where the object of one party was to excite popular and vulgar prejudices against their antagonists, it was to be expected, that the old antiquated charges of the mental reservations

vations of Papists,—of their not keeping faith with heretics,—and of the pope's power to grant licenses for killing and deposing heretic sovereigns, should be brought into notice by the lower agents of the party. The pretence, of their not being bound by oaths, is of all others the most impudent. It is by their regard for an oath alone, that they are excluded from any of the situations to which they are now aspiring. It is from their dread of an apparent or constructive disavowal of their tenets, that they refuse to take the benefit of the annual act of indemnity, under the cover of which so many dissenters from the Established church enjoy all the sweets of office. With regard to the other points, the answer of the six Catholic Universities in 1793, is final and conclusive. These learned bodies, selected as the avowed depositaries of all that is orthodox and learned in Catholic theology, answered unanimously, that it was no tenet of their church, that the pope, or even a general council, could absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oath of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation; and that the force and obligation of any engagement, is neither shaken nor diminished by the circumstance of the person to whom it is made entertaining erroneous opinions as to religion. If this were not sufficient to establish the fact against Mr Le Mesurier and his antiquated authorities, gleaned from Foulis and Fox, we are happy to be able to refer, for a confirmation of the same doctrine, to a quarter which, all Catholics at least, must admit to be decisive on such a subject. *The Pope himself*, in a rescript to Irish prelates, dated in June 1791, has solemnly and distinctly disavowed the whole of those doctrines on account of which the Catholics are still subjected to illiberal imputations. In that instrument his Holiness declares, that 'the 'see of Rome never taught, that faith is not to be kept with 'the heterodox; or that an oath to kings separated from the 'Catholic communion can be violated; or that it is lawful for 'the bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and domi-'nions.' He adds; 'we too consider an attempt or design a-'gainst the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of 'religion, as a horrid and detestable crime.'

We must make an end of this now. The advantages to be gained by the emancipation of the Catholics, are nothing less than the actual multiplication of our higher and more valued population, the deliverance of the whole nation from the fear and the danger of perpetual tumults and insurrections, and, in all human probability, the salvation of the country from the most tremenduous of all calamities—the conquest of a foreign foe. Of the disadvantages which have been foretold as likely to result from the measure, there is but one, we will confess, to which we are disposed

posed to pay any degree of attention, and that is the dissatisfaction which it will certainly occasion to the violent Orange party in Ireland, and their followers and imitators on this side of the water. It is certainly very greatly to be lamented, that a thing which is so obviously just in itself, and so necessary for the security and peace of the nation at large, should be likely, at such a crisis as the present, to produce any degree of disaffection or alienation on the part of any class of our countrymen. It is a consolation, however, to reflect, that the numbers of those whom such a measure can alienate is daily diminishing, and that the influence they possess must always be founded on circumstances adverse to the general prosperity. Though exasperated, and mortified, too, they will never be absolutely lost to the country;—*they* will neither join with France, nor rise up in open rebellion against the government. We have been informed, indeed, that many of the most considerable of those who belonged to the Orange party have, of late, been so much struck with the dangers to which the country was exposed by the discontents of the Catholics, that, out of a regard to the security of their own property, they have openly espoused the cause of emancipation, and declared that nothing else could save the country from destruction. Those who have been the tools and the instigators of oppression, must suffer, no doubt, when oppression ceases; and, as all sufferers do naturally complain, so it is not wonderful that their complaints should, for a time, be among the loudest. This, however, will pass away; and the ministry that has the courage to do this great act of policy and justice, will be speedily and amply repaid for the clamours and temporary embarrassments they may encounter, by the grateful services of those to whom they will have restored the sweets of concord and the feeling of security. Those who have an interest in the continuance of abuses, certainly will not be persuaded that they ought to be redressed; but there are many misled by passion or example, or by hasty and inaccurate views, to whom conviction may be brought by clear statements and dispassionate reasoning. We trust this will not be neglected;—and are persuaded that, if an example of genuine liberality, unconnected with party or temporary views, were once set by persons of weight and authority in the country, men would soon be moulded, by the gravitation of a common interest, into that harmonious union, for which there is now so great a necessity, and would look back with wonder on the excesses into which they had been hurried.

ART.

ART. IX. *The West India Common place Book, compiled from Parliamentary and Official Documents; showing the Interest of Great Britain in the Sugar Colonies, &c. &c.* By Sir William Young, Bart. F.R.S. M.P. 4to. pp. 280. Phillips. London. 1807.

A Letter to W. Manning Esq. M.P. on the Causes of the Rapid and progressive Depreciation of West India Property. By Charles Bosanquet Esq. 8vo. pp. 54. Richardsons. London. 1807.

Thoughts on the Value to Great Britain of Commerce in general, and on the Value and Importance of the Colonial Trade in particular. By Charles Bosanquet Esq. 8vo. pp. 83. Richardsons. London. 1807.

An Inquiry into the State of the British West Indies. By Joseph Lowe Esq. 8vo. pp. 180. Baldwin. London. 1807.

THESE works, together with the reports of the Committees of the House of Commons on the distilleries and the West India trade, contain every thing that has been laid before the public upon the present alarming and unprecedented situation of colonial affairs. The compilation of Sir William Young, too, exhibits the greater part of the general information connected with this subject. We have therefore brought these publications together in a single article, as furnishing the best opportunity of examining the very important question to which they all refer. This appears the more necessary, that none of those ingenious writers, nor indeed the Committees of the House of Commons themselves, have elucidated the subject in a satisfactory manner. While they all agree as to the amount of the evil, none of them have, in our apprehension, either pointed out the cause of it, or suggested any practicable remedy; and our presumption in attempting to supply this defect, will probably be thought the less of, when it is considered, that the persons to whom we allude belong all to the West India body, with the single exception of Mr Lowe, who professing to investigate the subject himself, follows the statements and adopts the opinions of the others, exclusively and implicitly.

The work of Sir William Young is a valuable collection of authentic details upon West Indian affairs, made for his own use during a constant attendance to those subjects in Parliament for twenty-two years. It is, in fact, as the title states, his Commonplace book; and we heartily wish that every person, whose in-

dustry has put him in possession of such a repository, would follow the laudable example of publishing it, although he may not have time or inclination to work it up into theories.

He begins with details upon the progress and actual state of the African slave trade, exhibiting the numbers carried over in different years since the question of abolition was first agitated, and the proportions of that detestable traffic, which were put an end to by the wise measures of 1806. He gives it, too, as his serious advice to the planters, to prepare for its total abolition in a very short time,—a prediction happily fulfilled soon after the publication of his book. The progressive culture of the islands, is the next object of attention. Without pretending to enter into the details, we shall notice their results, as peculiarly connected with the question which we are immediately to discuss. It appears that the produce of Jamaica has been increasing ever since 1787, but with peculiar rapidity since 1798; that the sugar exported from thence in 1804 and 1805, was above one half more than the quantity exported in 1793 and 1794, and the coffee six times as much; that Barbadoes continued on the decline, exporting about a fourth less than it had done in 1787; that Antigua and the other Leeward Islands had also decreased, except St Kitts, which remained nearly stationary; that all the other islands had increased their cultivation; and that the total export of sugar from the British islands (including Tobago), had, from 1787 to 1803, augmented by one half,—that of coffee sixfold. The value of the West India trade, as a source of naval power, has of course been increasing, and nearly in the same degree. In 1787, it employed about 130,000 tons; in 1804, above 180,000, navigated by 14,000 seamen. After going through multifarious details of the imports from the West Indies, we find that in fourteen years ending 1804, their value had increased nine millions Sterling, and the revenue from them had augmented by about three and a half millions, including, however, the conquered colonies; and that, exclusive of these, the imports from the West Indies were about a fourth of the whole imports of Great Britain. The exports to the islands have increased in the same proportion; and our author details this part of his subject with similar minuteness.

The intercourse between America and the West Indies, and the general subject of the colonial monopoly, next occupies his attention. He proves, to our entire satisfaction, that the islands cannot possibly exist without that intercourse, and that the monopoly, at least during war, should be considerably relaxed; but these points require a more ample discussion than we can allot to them here. The details into which he enters, are equally

equally illustrative of the fallacy that has marked the arguments of the shipping faction, both as to their own interests and those of the country. They lead us to one general inference, that those persons have mistaken the effects of the war for the consequences of a policy wisely calculated to diminish its evils; and have been enraged, merely because the existence of the sugar colonies was not sacrificed to a project which never could have succeeded, for retaining an accidental monopoly peculiar to one peroid of the present contest. The distresses of the planters form a large portion both of these and the other details contained in this volume. As it is a subject upon which all the works now before us are agreed, we shall reserve a general description of it for the remaining part of the article. Sir William closes his compilation with a number of useful details and suggestions relating to the military defence of the islands.

Having expressed our sense of the importance of this collection, we must in fairness mention one defect from which its value suffers a considerable diminution. We do not allude to the style, which is indeed as bad as possible, and frequently almost too obscure to be unravelled; but to inaccuracies, we are willing to hope, in the typography, which, unfortunately, have crept into several of the sums, and beget a natural suspicion of the rest. For example, in p. 10. we find 15 stated as five *per cent.* upon 260; in p. 124 and 145, 1803 is printed instead of 1783; and the same blunder occurring twice in p. 129, and, immediately after 1804 being printed for 1784, such a confusion is produced as would extremely puzzle one who read the history of the American intercourse there for the first time. In p. 56 we have 1782, 3, and 4, instead of 1802, 3, and 4. In summing up the fourth column of the table, p. 28, there is an error of 40,000; in summing the fifth column an error of 3000; and in summing the sixth there is a mistake of a cypher. It is most probable that these blunders, and many others of the same kind, are owing to the press having been corrected in the author's absence; but they are extremely unpleasant, and leave us always in a considerable degree of doubt as to the figures, which we have no opportunity of checking. It is perhaps owing to some more radical mistake, that we frequently find different sums set down when the same table or calculation is obviously referred to, as in p. 36. and 38. where the same sum is given at 183,934 and 184,034; and in p. 38. and 87, where the same sum is given at 15,596 and 19,797, besides other discrepancies in the same three pages. We have had occasion to note this, and several other apparent errors of a similar description, because we found them preventing us from making use of our author's tables; and it is difficult to avoid apprehending that we should have been

equally unlucky if we had tried him more frequently. Of consequence, the value of the work suffers a material diminution, after it has been found an unsafe guide in these instances. Its utility would also have been greatly increased, if averages had been given more frequently; and it is peculiarly unfortunate that this should have been so much neglected in quoting the year 1805, (the last for which Sir William had full returns), as that season was notoriously a very unfavourable one. Lastly, he should have tried, as far as possible, in giving comparative statements, to choose the returns for the same year or series of years; and this not merely when those statements are placed together for the sake of comparison, but also when they come in at different parts of a set of details obviously connected together. We presume most of these defects are capable of correction in a future edition.

The object of Mr Bosanquet's first pamphlet was, to describe the distressed state of the West Indian colonies, and to point out its causes. But the case which he had made out, seemed not likely to excite sufficiently the sympathy or the apprehensions of people in this country, among whom he perceived a growing tendency to undervalue the importance of the colonies altogether. In order to correct such prejudices as these, he wrote his second pamphlet; in which a great deal of very just observation, by no means new, is delivered with the air of original discovery, and a considerable portion of the most fanciful theory is laid down as dogmatically as if it were matter of demonstration, and with as much pretension to novelty as if it did not rest upon exploded errors. Both of these tracts are indeed eminently liable to this criticism: But the first contains a much larger proportion of detail and of reasoning on the practical parts of the subject. These are valuable, because the author is a professional man. His speculations on political economy, we are unable to admire; although he announces them by saying, that he 'has shut his books,' and is only to give us 'the workings of his own mind;'. for, in truth, he does not appear to have read and thought enough to justify so adventurous a proceeding.

The benefits of our commerce, according to Mr Bosanquet, are threefold. It encreases population by finding new employment for the people; it raises up seamen for the navy; and it affords wealth to the country, both by furnishing subsistence to individuals, and revenue to the state. So admirably do despisers of other men's books classify their own ideas! Again—a greater population than the land can maintain is necessary to Great Britain, in order that her revenue may be kept up. Manufactures are therefore requisite, in addition to agriculture; 'but manufacture is only

a second cause; it has no intrinsic momentum; the *primum mobile* is consumption.' (Thoughts, p. 9.) This must be found by means of commerce, 'whose province it is to discover, supply, and receive payment from foreign customers;' and that commerce is the most beneficial, which enables us to exchange our goods for raw produce, or articles in the first state of manufacture.' The golden rule with Mr Bosanquet is, that the more this country works, and the less its neighbours work upon the commodities mutually exchanged, the better it is for us. He speaks with unbecoming disrespect of the balance of trade; for which it should seem, he will have this notion of a balance of labour substituted. We say 'unbecoming respect;' for it is plain that he believes in all the errors of that theory. He denies that the custom-house returns exhibit a fair account of the balance; but it is one of his reasons for praising a home trade, that it never can make a balance against us. So distinct are the ideas, and so consistent the doctrines of men, who will strike out systems by 'the workings of their own minds!' A branch of trade, according to our author, is also valuable in proportion as its returns are great upon a given investment of capital. Its permanence and security likewise enters into the account; and as a nursery of seamen, it is important in proportion to the number of seamen whom it employs to transport a given bulk, and to the nautical experience which it creates in them. So original are the general positions discovered by the self taught economist! The style which falls naturally upon the working mind may probably strike our readers as not much better, when we mention, that the goods sent to Buenos Ayres, are denominated 'investments to that bourn whence no traveller returns,' (Thoughts, p. 28.;) by which a man, who had *not* shut his books, would be apt to understand a cargo of coffins and winding sheets.

Having thus laid down the general qualities of an advantageous commerce, our author tries the value of the West India trade by these tests; and as they were evidently invented with a view to the nature of that trade, it is the less wonderful if he finds it rank exceedingly high. The colonies take off our manufactures, and return us raw produce, which we either consume or work up ourselves. The trade with them is a home trade; both ends are British; and this view, though certainly not original, is one that has not sufficiently occupied speculative men: we therefore give Mr Bosanquet full credit for his able statement of it. The colony trade, moreover, employs more tonnage and seamen in proportion to its capital, than most other trades; and as sugar and cotton are next to necessaries, our author infers, that the trade in them is of a stable nature. The present state of the West Indies, to be sure, is a little against the last conclusion. This he ascribes,

however, not to the nature of the trade, but to the injuries which it has received from our impolitic measures. The application of his principles occupying the latter half of his tract, is by much the best part of it, and gives a very good abstract of the relative value of the colonial commerce. In the pamphlet upon the causes of the present distresses, he adopts the prevailing opinions, and recommends the remedies which all the West India body concur in desiring. Some of his general speculations, indeed, now and then intrude, rather for the purpose of supporting ordinary sentiments in a peculiar way, than in order to elucidate the subject by new doctrines. A distinction, for example, is taken between trade and commerce; the former being the first exchange of produce for money, and not a fit object of taxation, because the grower has no command of the supply,—the latter, the purchase and reselling with a view to profit, and a perfectly fit object of taxation, because the merchant can command the supply, and lay the duty upon the consumer. It is quite manifest that this is merely an imperfect and most crude attempt to generalize the existing case of the West India planter, who mantains, that, as things are now situated, he cannot change the employment of his capital, and so contract the supply of produce, as to make the purchaser pay the tax upon it. With the exception of these attempts, which occur chiefly at the beginning of Mr Bosanquet's 'Letter,' we have found it a very clear and satisfactory performance, exhibiting by far the best statement which has yet been given of the doctrines maintained by the colonial body. He would render an acceptible service to the public, by moulding his two tracts into one, omitting the greater part of the general reasoning, and incorporating with his details the valuable statements contained in his very ample and distinct evidence before the West India Committee.

Mr Lowe's tract is one of considerable merit, as a useful compendium of the statements which others had previously advanced; but as it appeared after several pamphlets had been already published, and professed to settle the whole subject, we might have pardoned a little more originality, and a somewhat less scrupulous adherence to the positions and reasonings of his predecessors. To analyse the greater part of his work would be merely to repeat what we have just now been describing as the contents of Sir W. Young and Mr Bosanquet's publications. He follows them minutely, in explaining the importance of the colonies, and their present situation. The remedies which he proposes are nearly the same with theirs, and discussed on similar grounds; only that he enlarges, with a most commendable and enlightened spirit, upon a subject of paramount importance very slightly mentioned by any other writer, and, by most reasoners on this question wholly

wholly omitted,—the necessity of peace for the relief of the West India interest, and of our commerce in general. It would give us very great satisfaction to have room for abridging or extracting parts of the excellent chapter in which he argues this question. His views are marked by a liberality and freedom from the narrow prejudices of mercantile circles, which give him an infinite advantage over the authors whom he follows on West Indian affairs. We would gladly hail this appearance of a right spirit in the city (a kind of star rising in the east) as an omen of more enlightened views than have lately opened upon us from that quarter; and we trust that Mr Lowe, at any rate, will not be wanting in lending his further aid to so mighty an amendment. The style of his tract, hastily as it seems to have been put together, is plain and unambitious. Its modesty, too, is praiseworthy;—but there is something which deserves not this name in his practice of leaving important subjects untouched, on the ground, that 'it belongs to Government alone to determine such points,' or, that 'such a subject would be painful to the reader,' or, that 'such a subject would be unwelcome to the public,'—(See p. 34, 38—43, 60, &c.); for reasons of this sort would put a stop to most political writings, and assuredly to the whole of the tracts produced by the present state of the sugar colonies. Upon the whole, however, Mr Lowe's work, independent of its particular merits, forms a very proper addition to the West India Common-Place Book, and the Reports of the two Committees; and we trust it is not the last production upon such subjects which we shall owe to the same pen.

The general statement of the planters and West India merchants, has always been this,—That the profits of sugar planting never were so great as persons unacquainted with the colonies supposed; that the large incomes spent by several West Indians in the mother country, not only prevented men from reflecting on the multitudes who were either ruined by speculation, or subsisted with difficulty on their estates, but were ascribed to successful adventure,—whereas, they grew slowly out of a long course of industry and expense, absolutely necessary to improve colonial property; that the capital vested in the islands, was in this manner always overlooked, as well as the peculiar risks of the business, and a return, really very moderate, was magnified into exorbitant profit. In support of such assertions, estimates have been repeatedly produced, of the expenses of improving and managing a sugar plantation; and the comparison of these with the ordinary produce has led to the inference, that in the most favourable circumstances seven *per cent.* profit cannot be expected on capital so invested.

This was Bryan Edwards's calculation in 1787 *; and the enemies of the West India body have not scrupled to assert, in their attempts to decry the colonial system, that although some great fortunes may be made by planting, it is, upon the whole, a losing concern to the nation,—a lottery, in which the price of the tickets far exceeds the value of the prizes. We may remark, however, that there is a considerable portion of error both in these estimates and in this general observation. The planters, in calculating the expenses of each year, both state every *item* at the highest, and include several outgoings which belong not to annual charges, but to the increase of the stock, or the supply of its original deficiencies. Then they swell the account of the capital invested, by inserting, not only the original expenses and the subsequent improvements, but a variety of charges which, properly speaking, belong to the head of tear and wear. They thus make the capital invested appear greater, and the nett profits less, than they really are. Nor do they state a circumstance of considerable importance in the discussion, that, of the estates now existing in the sugar colonies, a very small proportion indeed have been purchased, like English farms or merchandize, by the payment of the value at a short credit. Almost the whole of the plantations now described as worth so much, and sometimes as having cost so much, were obtained for a trifling sum paid down, and a further payment at very long credits, as the produce of lucky years enabled the speculator to fulfil his bargain. It must not therefore be supposed, that when the planters value their estates, they mean to assert how much capital has actually been transferred by them to the West Indies from other branches of employment. They rarely make this assertion in distinct terms, if closely examined; and, when they do, we generally find that their money has been well laid out. Thus Mr Shirley states to the West India Committee, that he had laid out 170,000l. Sterling on his estate in Jamaica, including purchase money and improvements; and he admits that he has netted above 9 per cent. upon that sum, on an average of the last nine years †. Mr Rickets values his plantation at 50,000l., because a gentleman was in treaty with him at that sum, and he thinks would have purchased but for an accident; but he admits that, even at the low prices of last year, he may expect above 4 *per cent.* on that assumed capital, as soon as the present stock produces the quantity of sugar which he lays his account with soon having from it ‡. As for the position, that the colonies are, on the whole,

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* History of the West Indies, Book 5. c. 3.

† Report, p. 66.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 46. These deductions are computed from the statements of the witnesses.

a losing concern—it rests merely on vague assumptions, and on the argument of people being found to buy lottery tickets, which is demonstrably a losing speculation. This argument, however, is quite inapplicable to the case of so many persons risking, not a small portion of their money, which they may do from mere love of gambling, but the whole, or nearly the whole of their capital, which they never will employ in a lottery of the kind alluded to.

But whatever deductions we may make from the unfavourable calculations of their gains exhibited by the planters twenty years ago, it is certain that changes have since taken place, which more than realize the desponding views then entertained. Estimates are now made upon the same inaccurate principles as formerly, of the capital and charges; but, making every allowance for exaggeration, the gross profits on the sale of the produce appear to be so very small, that the clear returns upon estates must be almost dwindled to nothing, and in many cases, even fall short of the whole expenses attending their management. From various particular plantation accounts, say the West Indians, it clearly appears, that sugar cannot be raised under an expense of 20s. 10d. Sterling by the cwt. in Jamaica, and 19s. 6d. in the other islands, over and above the whole profits arising from the sale of the rum. The expense, therefore, incurred in the colonies from yearly necessary supplies to the estates, and island charges, amounts, at a general average, to above one pound Sterling on each cwt. shipped for Europe. Then the costs of freight, insurance, and commission, add to this sum nearly 16*s.* more upon the same quantity, before it can be exposed to sale in the English market. But the mean price of sugar, exclusive of duty, for the first six months of the present year, has not exceeded 33s. 6d. per cwt. Nor is this low price peculiar to the present season,—it has been coming on rapidly for several years. The average for five years ending 1800, was 65s. 4d.; for the next five years, it was 46s. 7d.; and for the year 1806, it was only 43s. 9d.; during which period it had fallen very regularly *. After gaining, therefore, scarcely any thing for several years upon their estates, the planters now complain that there is an absolute loss on the cultivation of them, instead of a profit of 10 per cent. on their capital, which is said to be the smallest fair return; that those whose estates are in debt, have both the loss on their management, and the whole interest of their loans to pay, either from other funds, or by running deeper in debt; and that, as the above estimates are all averages, the dreadful effects

* See Distillery and West India Reports; particularly pp. 3—4. 23. *& seqq.*; 84. & 85. of the latter.

effects of the depreciation fall very unequally; depriving some estates, which are favourably circumstanced, of their former returns, but plunging others, which raise bad sugars, or are cultivated at an extraordinary expense, in irretrievable ruin.

It is unnecessary to remark, that, whatever exaggeration may be suspected in these calculations, formed as they are upon the inaccurate principles already described, and delivered by one party to a tribunal almost entirely composed of their brethren in distress; yet enough is proved, by the admitted fall of the sugar market, to substantiate a case of extraordinary calamity; for the produce having fallen to about one half its former price, and the expense of raising it having no doubt increased, certainly in nowise diminished, the planters must either have received profits the most incredible before, or they must now be reduced to great distress. The cause of their calamities is therefore to be discovered; and here their statements are by no means so satisfactory. They do not fail to describe the rise in the price of all supplies required by their estates from the European and American markets, and the augmentation also of the island expenses. Freight in like manner has increased, and insurance is upon the war establishment. Meanwhile, the colonies of the enemy being supplied by neutral carriers, raise their sugars at less expense, and, transmitting their produce by the same means, bring it at a smaller charge to the market. It is calculated, for example, that they freight and insure their sugars in American bottoms, to the north of Europe, for about 9s. per cwt. and to the Mediterranean for 12s. 6d. less than we can carry ours to the same markets. Such an advantage, say the West Indians, gives the foreign colonies the entire command of the European market; and while our conquests in the West Indies have brought into our own markets a vast addition to the overplus beyond our home consumption, the exportation, always necessary, and now more essential than ever, is thus nearly stopped by the foreign planters, through the neutral traders. A glut is thus occasioned in the British market; 260,000 hogsheads being annually imported, and only 140,000 consumed; while, of the overplus, not 70,000 could last year be sent abroad; and it happened that the importation was 13,000 above the average. Notwithstanding all this, the planters add, government, without relaxing the monopoly, has been constantly increasing the duties, and attempted to raise them greatly the very year that above 80,000 hogsheads were lying a drug in the warehouses.

Such, in substance, is the statement of all the West India body, and all their advocates, both in books, pamphlets, and reports. But it leaves the difficulties of the case almost exactly where it found them. The neutral carriage is not of yesterday. During the

the American war, the French opened their trade to neutrals; and the rule of the war 1756 was not enforced by this country. France took some of our colonies; and there was neither a glut of sugar in her markets, nor in our own. No sooner had the late war begun, than the French colony trade was again thrown open; and the English instruction of November 1793, only remained in force about two months, being modified by two subsequent instructions, (January 1794, and January 1798), which left the Americans rather more of the French colonial trade than they at present enjoy. During that war, the West India islands were exactly in the same hands as they now are, except that we then had Martinico, and now have Curassoa. At the very beginning of the present war, the French once more opened their West India trade; and, since that time, the Americans have carried it on. Is it conceivable that this carrying trade can have so rapidly augmented within the last year or two, or even since the beginning of the war, as to constitute the whole difference between the present crisis, and all former epochs of colonial affairs? But further—How was the foreign market supplied before, if the Americans carried little or no produce for the enemy? From this country, say the planters. But this answer will not do: for what became of the cultivation of the foreign islands all the while? It cannot surely be pretended, that Guadaloupe and Cuba, during last war, and Martinico also during the earlier part of the present war, were lying fallow, or storing up their useless crops, until the American shippers should come, in the fullness of time, to their assistance; and that then they proceeded to make all the sugar which is now regularly brought over to the Continent. Moreover, it is in vain to impute the low prices of our market to the Americans underselling us. If the continental market is not fully supplied by the Americans at a cheap rate, it will furnish a demand for our surplus sugars at a higher rate; and if it furnishes no such demand,—if only a certain quantity of our sugars can enter it, at the American prices of course,—no doubt remains that there is as much of the article already supplied as is wanted; and that if peace were made to-morrow, the enemy would carry over his own sugar in his own ships, and receive as much of ours as he now does, and no more. The whole expense of carriage would be somewhat less to us—only about 4s. or 4s. 6d. per cwt., as the West Indians themselves admit: * to the foreigners it would be likewise diminished, though not so much. If the statement mentioned above is correct (which we do not believe), we should still be undersold; but, at all events, we should meet the foreigner only on equal terms; and it remains for the planters to show how they

* West India Report, p. 19—37.

they could dispose of their present surplus. It will not avail them to say, that the Dutch and French colonies must then be restored. They probably will be so; but they do not surely raise the 60 or 70,000 hogsheads at present exported by us; and that amount of exportation will necessarily be diminished by the transference of the conquered settlements, leaving the whole surplus in our home market exactly where it was before. In fact, during the last peace, produce sold almost as cheap as it does now.—Neither can the West Indians ascribe their distressed situation to the duties. Whatever be the effects of those duties on home consumption, they are wholly drawn back on exported sugar; and, indeed, their tendency to discourage consumption may be estimated from this, that while the duties have been rising, the consumption has increased; and that whatever effect the duties might have in checking consumption, the glut must have more than counteracted it by a great diminution of the gross prices.—To deduce the ruin of the sugar trade from the duties on exportation imposed after our West India conquests last war, is altogether chimerical. Is any man senseless enough to believe that this could have cultivated the whole remaining settlements of the enemy? Then he will probably be surprised that the restoration of the full drawback did not destroy the culture which had been created by its partial suspension.

There is evidently a very different cause for all the distresses complained of, and one, the existence of which is quite compatible with the evidence produced by the West Indians, while it is substantiated by facts not to be found among their statements. It appears to us perfectly manifest, (as our readers have perhaps anticipated from the preceding argument), that the radical evil is a general glut of produce, at least of the great staple, sugar and rum, in the whole market of the world; that the West Indian colonies grow much more than the whole world can consume; and that, consequently, the prices must fall, and a large portion of the commodity remain unsaleable at any price, until the supply shall be contracted.

In all the ordinary lines of employment, the capital which is accumulated from profits, can only be reinvested, so as to augment the stock yielding annual increase, slowly and with difficulty. There are no means of suddenly or rapidly opening new supplies in proportion to the former gains upon the capital; and the supply, though always approaching, is scarcely ever in danger of overtaking, and still less of outstripping the demand. Thus a number of persons may acquire wealth in trade, and resolve at once to cultivate a vast district of waste land. But they cannot do so, without taking a multitude of labourers from other farms; they

they cannot find hands to carry on their speculation; or, if they do, a proportional district of country will cease to produce: they must proceed gradually, and await the slow increase of population, they have no power of glutting the market with corn. But in the West Indian agriculture, the case is, at least was, quite different. There always existed an unlimited facility of investing new capital in its operations. If speculators possessed wealth acquired in the other branches of commerce, they could soon purchase new lands; and the slave trade removed all the natural obstacles to clearing and cultivating them suddenly. Meanwhile, the rapid creation of new estates was not attended with the adandonment of those already in cultivation, even when they became much exhausted by length of time; because there is no kind of speculation in which so much uncertainty prevails, in which the adventurers labour under so many burdens, and are so unwilling to give up their chance of retrieving their affairs by a fine season, and from which capital must be withdrawn with such certain loss.

In this unnatural state of things, the capital accumulated in the old colonial speculations, as well as in other branches of adventure, was applied to the clearing of new lands, which yielded extraordinary crops. It was calculated that the slave population of St Domingo had nearly doubled in ten years previous to 1792. The Spanish government, during the latter part of the last century, had adopted much more liberal views of colonial policy; and the trade and cultivation of its settlements increased with proportionate rapidity. Between 1765 and 1770, the customs at the Havannah were trebled. In 1765, the trade of Cuba scarcely employed six vessels;—in 1778, it required above two hundred. Since that period, the supply of slaves, both to Cuba and Trinidad, has been facilitated by various regulations; and, in 1789, the importation of negroes to all the islands, and to the Caraccas, was thrown open to foreigners as well as Spaniards. In the British islands, too, a considerable progress was making; and the average of importation of produce, about the year 1790, was considerably higher than it had ever stood before. All these improvements in the colonial agriculture were visibly perceived in the price of sugars; and, before the year 1792, the planters, if not in a state of considerable distress, were at least gaining very moderate returns from their estates. But the total destruction of the greatest sugar colony in the world, speedily gave a new aspect to West Indian affairs. A yearly quantity of above 110,000 hogsheads was thus suddenly taken out of the market, and prices rose to an extravagant pitch. The confusion which took place in Guadaloupe soon after, and the operations of the war in the West Indies,

Indies, diminished the supply, and raised the price of produce still further. The speculations which had, before the destruction of St Domingo, been going on in every part of the West Indies, now proceeded with much greater rapidity, especially in Cuba, Trinidad, and our own Islands. The slave-trade furnished unlimited means of cultivating the waste lands; and that capital which was wanting in many foreign colonies, was soon supplied from this country, by the capture of a great part of them. Martinico, Tobago, St Lucia, Trinidad, and Dutch Guiana, were now in our possession, and their lands were rapidly cleared by our capital vested to an enormous amount in the slave trade*. At the same time, the introduction of the Bourbon cane enabled even the bad land of the old islands to produce plentiful crops of sugar. So that, from all these causes, the total amount of this great staple raised in the West Indies, already too large for the demand, has been constantly and rapidly increasing since 1792; the blank occasioned in that year has been filled up; and a great surplus has been added to the ordinary produce of former periods.

This inference, which follows so clearly from facts universally known, is fully confirmed by the details. By authentic documents which appeared before the court of Admiralty in 1805, it was proved, that the export of sugar from Cuba, for that year, amounted to 300,000 boxes, or about 1,275,000 cwt. The whole import of sugar into Spain from all its colonies, did not exceed 302,400 cwt. on an average, for the years 1794 and 1795, by the Spanish custom-house accounts for those years? This came chiefly from Cuba: part, however, came from Porto Rico, and a little from the Spanish Main. The ordinance, allowing negroes to be imported into the Havannah, duty free, was issued in 1789; and from that year to 1792 (both inclusive) 20,217 negroes were imported into the Havannah. In 1792 alone, 121 slave ships entered that port;—a clear proof how rapidly the importation was going on. Before 1790, therefore, so far from there being any surplus for foreign exportation, it is evident that the Spanish colonies could not nearly supply the mother country; and, if we estimate the shipments from Cuba to have been at that time 200,000 cwt, we certainly allow more than the truth. Here, then, is an augmentation in the island of Cuba of 1,075,000 cwt. in fifteen years. Porto Rico has increased very considerably during the same period; and a good deal of sugar has been raised on the Mexican coast; but the quantities we have no means of estimating. As by much the greater part of the above quantity is clayed sugar, we may estimate it as equal to at least

* It is shocking to think that the annual amount of the British slave trade increased, by these speculations, from 25,000 to 57,000 negroes, in the short space of two years.

least 1,663,559 cwt., the total exportation of sugar (reducing the clayed to Muscovado, according to the usual proportion of 10 to 17) which was annually made from St Domingo at the period of the revolution. So that the clear increase of the Spanish sugars alone, is much more than sufficient to compensate the loss of St Domingo; for we have not reckoned Porto Rico and the other settlements, nor taken into the account that St Domingo itself had been most rapidly increasing.

That Guadaloupe, Martinico, and other French islands, have been augmenting their cultivation, cannot be denied; but let us only consider the increase of our own sugars. In 1789, we imported 153,680 hogsheads; in 1805, from the same islands, together with Trinidad, which was almost entirely created during the interval, we imported 216,227 hogsheads; but in that year the Leeward Island crops were all uncommonly bad; so that we should take those at their produce in 1799, which was a fair average year, and then we shall have the total increase of sugar in our own islands, in fifteen years, equal to about 75,000 hogsheads. Again, the average annual importation for five years ending 1785, was 1,570,537 cwt. For six years ending 1806, it was 3,389,734 cwt.; being an increase of 1,819,177 cwt. in twenty years upon our importation. From this is to be deducted the sugar exported at the former period from Guiana, Tobago, and St Lucia; but we cannot estimate the clear increase in the settlements at present in possession of Great Britain, at less than 1,500,000 cwt. It is not too much to estimate the increase of sugar in all other parts, (Spanish, French, and Portuguese colonies*, besides the East Indies) at 500,000 cwt., being a total addition to the quantity of sugar brought annually into the European market, of about two millions cwt. in twenty years. The whole yearly consumption of sugar in Great Britain, at the beginning of that period, was not above a million and a quarter cwt.

Such having been the prodigious increase in the supply, it is natural to ask, if the demand can possibly have increased in proportion? The state of the Continent renders it manifest, that during the last fifteen years the demand must have been rather checked in its natural progress. The rise of freight and insurance, too, in consequence of the war, and the efforts which have constantly been made to exclude British produce from the French territories, have no doubt had the same tendency. The use of sugar in the Mediterranean is said to have evidently declined from these causes; and, even in this country, the West Indians assert, that the

* The increased cultivation of Brazil has been chiefly in sugar and cotton.

the use of this article among the lower orders is decreasing. The progress of the demand for it may, however, be estimated with sufficient precision from the following circumstance. The quantity of sugar retained in Great Britain for annual consumption, on an average of five years ending 1775, was 1,533,421 cwt. The quantity retained on an average of five years ending 1800, was 1,716,737 cwt. The like average of five years ending 1805, indeed, is 2,167,435; but then the average price for those years is 46s. 7d. instead of 65s. 4d., the average price during the preceding five years; a clear proof that the quantity retained is not that required for the consumption of the country, but a glut of the market. If, then, in twenty five years, during which this country made the greatest progress in opulence and luxury that any nation ever made during an equal period, the effective demand for sugar only increased about 180,000 cwt., we may easily imagine how inadequate the progress of the demand has been in other countries, under all their disadvantages, during the last twenty years, while their supply was augmented above 1,800,000 cwt. These considerations may convince us, that there is a real glut in the European market; that a great deal too much sugar is now made; and that, until some diminution takes place in the supply, the planter must continue to be ruined by low prices, and, indeed, by an utter inability to get rid of his whole produce at any price. The French government, no doubt, may increase this evil by such rigorous measures as shall further contract the demand, and load the carriage with risk and expense; but the root of the evil is struck far deeper than this; and no change in either the French or English councils could materially remedy it.

The planters, however, propose various means of relief, which we shall shortly run over. 'The Americans,' say they, 'carry the enemy's sugars much cheaper than we can carry our own; a bounty, therefore, is requisite to put us on equal terms.' The difference is said to be about 9s. per cwt. in the north, and 12s. 6d. in the south of Europe. Suppose this were granted, and that, at the yearly expense to the country of a million Sterling, 140,000 hogsheads were forced into the foreign market,—we say, this would furnish no relief whatever; for though we at present do not export half that quantity, the foreign market is glutted. This, indeed, the West India Committee have given us no proofs of, nor have they made a single remark on the subject; but it is perfectly true, and quite decisive of the question. From examining an account of sales of sugar exported, last August, from London to Amsterdam, it appears that the loss upon the transaction was exactly 8 *per cent.* The extravagant bounty of 9s. per cwt. would have converted this into a profit of about 16 *per cent.*; but

if

if the prices at Amsterdam were so low that we could not export above 70,000 hogsheads without a loss, what would they have sunk to, had we suddenly exported as much more? We may safely assert, that if the quantity could be sold at all, there would be still a clear loss upon the transaction, in spite of the bounty. The prices of sugar have fallen on the Continent as well as here. By comparing the Amsterdam price currents for different years, it appears that, in August 1805, English sugars were at 14 to 17¾ groots per lb. in the Dutch market; and, in August 1807, they were at 9 to 12; a fall from 15⅞ to 10½, and about the same that has taken place in our own market. In such circumstances, to talk of a bounty is nonsense; it can serve no end but to make the public pay a part of the necessary losses of the planter, and prevent the only remedy from being administered, from which permanent relief can be expected,—the conversion of the inferior sugar lands into provision grounds, and the employment of a number of slaves in the culture of other staples; a measure ruinous certainly to many individuals, but a necessary consequence of the excessive cultivation of the cane which has been carried on of late years.

A similar objection applies to the next expedient suggested by the West India body,—the purchase of rum for government service at higher prices than are now paid for brandies. Indeed, this is only one method of forcing the consumption of rum by a premium; and is a much less effectual relief than another, which might be proposed without any greater absurdity, viz. a general agreement among all ranks of the community to drink an additional quantity of sugar in their tea. The introduction of sugar in the distilleries is liable to the same general criticism, and to another still more specific objection. In whatever way this is effected, it must ultimately diminish, by a large amount, the whole grain in the market of the world. According to the Sixth Report of the Committee on the scarcity, 1800, there are used in the distilleries 500,000 quarters of barley, equal to about 360,000 quarters of wheat. If sugar is substituted in the operation, an annual diminution will be produced in the amount of the grain raised in this country, equal to the subsistence of 360,000 persons. In the event of a scarcity, therefore, we shall be deprived of a very important resource; we can no longer change our spirits into food. Then, say the West Indians, allow as much grain to be exported to the islands as they can take, instead of restricting the supplies. But, in that case, the evil is only removed one step; the American grower, on whom the islands now depend, will no longer raise so much grain; and a scarcity will leave this country in the dilemma, either of starving its colonies, or itself. In whatever way sugar is forced into the distilleries, the planter can only be relieved from the natural

consequences of his excessive cultivation, by forcing out of the world five bushels of grain for every cwt. of sugar, and, in the brewery, eight bushels*. The practice of using grain for other purposes besides the support of life, furnishes the greatest resource to the country in a season of scarcity. It enables us to provide for our necessities out of our luxuries; and it is this resource that the West Indians desire us now to cut off, in order to relieve them from the effects of their overtrading.

It is further proposed to alter the duties upon sugar; but, on this point, the West India body are not agreed. The majority of them are for taking off a part of the duty, which, they conclude, will extend the home market, and at any rate will put so much clear gain into the planter's pocket. Others are for increasing the present duty, and making the conditional 3s. per cwt., laid on last year, absolute on all sugars consumed at home, in order to raise a fund for giving bounties on exportation. Upon the former proposition it is obvious to remark, that a diminution of price will not now increase the consumption any farther, when there is such a glut that prices have fallen much lower than they ever were before. But it is manifest, also, that the planter will not benefit by the scheme. The glut will continue as formerly; and sugars, instead of selling at 60s., duty included, as they do at present, will sell at 50s.; for the planter then will be exactly in the situatioon in which he now is. He is now forced to take 60s. rather than keep his goods on hand, although 27s. of this goes to government; and if 10s. of the duty is taken off, he will be very glad to bring so much more sugar into the market as will lower his price to the present sum; that is to say, he will sell for 50s. rather than not at all, and will gain as much by the sale as he now does. A diminution of duty, then, while the glut continues general, will only diminish the revenue to the country, and lower the price to the consumer. The project of a bounty to force sugars abroad, we have already discussed; and it signifies little how the fund for this bounty is provided. But if the price is raised by this plan, the consumption will in all probability be checked; and as the consumer knows nothing of price exclusive of duty, but pays at present 60s. altogether, in consequence of the glut in the market, it is difficult to perceive how an additional duty should alter this price, fixed as it is in the gross by the competition of sellers, which would remain

* Mr Bosanquet cannot comprehend why one cwt. of sugar should be equivalent to eight bushels in the brewery, and five only in the distillery,—because, if so, he thinks the brewer's interest would make him use it: but it must be remembered, that the Committee state that no quantity of sugar will make good beer.

main exactly as before: So that a new duty would only consummate the ruin of the grower.

The chief reliance of the West Indians, however, is on a blockade of the enemy's colonies. An actual blockade of Cuba is impossible; and a proclamation that it is blockaded, together with all the other French and Spanish islands, is a declaration of war against all neutrals. Accordingly, that is the chief hope of the West Indians. Even this, however, would not bring effectual relief; for the strictest blockade will not be able to prevent a large quantity of sugar from being brought over. We shall ourselves bring an increased quantity of prize-sugars to this country; and a considerable quantity will still be carried underhand by Americans. Provisions, lumber, and all the planter's expenses, will rise; freight and insurance will be increased, and the demand will be still further contracted by the violent measures of our enemies in Europe. Unless we can, by our blockade, destroy as many sugar plantations as have been added to the former culture during the last twenty years; that is to say, unless we can lay waste an extent of territory equal to the British West Indies as they stood in 1795, we do nothing by our violence. If the sugar is made and finds its way over, whether by English or by American vessels, it must bear a low price. If it is all brought to this country, and we have the entire command of the market, government may tax the article, at least until the foreign consumer refuses to take it (which, from the state of prices above mentioned would probably very soon happen:) but the competition of English sellers will bring down both the home and foreign market, just as much as when different nations had the commodity in their hands: And then, the moment peace is made, all attempts to ruin the foreign colonies are out of the question; the foreign market is more glutted than ever; and though the surrender of the conquered colonies takes about 40,000 hogsheads out of the home market, it will be for that reason proportionably more difficult to export the remaining 100,000.

The true remedy for the evil is only to be found in diminishing the growth of sugar. The abolition of the slave trade will gradually operate this in a great degree; both by forcing the planter to exact less work from his negroes, and by obliging him to provide more provision grounds for their use. The rigorous execution of this law is the greatest favour which can now be conferred on the West Indian body. In the mean time, however, many of the estates which produce bad sugars must be given up; and many planters will be ruined, whose property is mortgaged. This will be a severe remedy, but it is a radical one. Unfortunately, too, most of the foreign islands have a much better soil than ours; and the shock will fall less heavily upon them than upon

us. They may even continue to cultivate new lands, if they revive the slave trade, and may force us into still greater difficulties.

Thus, has the abominable commerce in human flesh produced a crisis in our colonial system, which it is equally impossible to contemplate without alarm, and to relieve without disproportionate injury to the rest of the empire. Nor can the enemies of that iniquitous traffic now be accused of enthusiasm and sentimental philanthropy. No proposition, resting on dry calculation, is more plainly and numerically substantiated, than the deduction by which the present calamitous situation of the West Indies is traced from the African slave trade. Happy indeed would it have been for the planters, had they in good time discovered, that a measure prescribed by justice may be also consistent with prudence; that the most calculating policy sometimes coincides with the dictates of humanity; and that there are other risks besides those of taking counsel from speculative statesmen.

If, however, any measures can be suggested, consistent with sound policy, and tending to lessen the evil, they must surely meet with a favourable reception from the Legislature, which for so many years sanctioned the slave trade, and applauded the sugar colony war,—making itself a party to the two great causes of the present distresses. It seems to be quite consistent with sound policy, to free the West Indians from several of the trammels which the monopoly now imposes on them. If the shipping interest should object to the export of the greater staples in American bottoms, is it not a sufficient answer, that the ruin of the West Indians must contribute far more to injure the carriers of their produce, than any American interference? But what objection can be made to giving the planter full power to manufacture his sugar in the islands? He is now obliged, by the exorbitant duties on refined sugars, to ship a seventh part of his cargoes with the certainty of its being utterly lost; and to send the rest, in its rudest state, and most bulky form, at a time when the neutral carriers are chiefly underselling him in the articles of freight and insurance. If so silly a regulation must be continued for the increase of our tonnage, why are not the planters and others obliged to send over rubbish or cane trash, or to freight so many empty ships each year, in proportion to their crops? Some such relaxations of the monopoly seem to be the only general palliative that can now be administered to the disease of the colonial system; and it would not be difficult to point out several branches of manufacture which might furnish employment for the hands of deserted plantations. It is clear, however, that nothing can prevent the ruin of many proprietors, and the injury of almost all West India fortunes. Cases of individual distress may, no doubt, claim the attention of the country; but, unfortunately, things are brought

brought to such a state, that the sacrifice of many persons is the only means of reestablishing the general welfare.

The explanation which we have offered of the present distresses, founded on well known facts, and supported by the evidence of the West India body themselves, derives a remarkable confirmation from considering a part of the subject, not discussed in any of their pamphlets or reports. They confine their attention entirely to the state of the sugar trade; and our remarks have hitherto applied chiefly to that branch of the question. It may be asked, therefore, why the same difficulties are not felt by the growers of the other staples? And, in answering this question, we shall find, that every one of the positions formerly advanced rests upon additional proof.

Before the French revolution, no great supply of coffee was received from the British colonies. Jamaica, and the ceded islands, alone cultivated this staple. In Jamaica, however, the culture was increasing with considerable rapidity, having more than doubled in fifteen years, ending 1789. Dominica had increased somewhat; and Grenada had fallen off greatly. The coffee exported from the British islands had, upon the whole, decreased; so that Great Britain did not import 33,000 cwt. in 1788, while, on an average of five years, ending 1775, she imported 52,000. But the reduction of duty in 1783, so much encouraged the Jamaica planters, that before the year 1792 the whole British importation stood much higher than it had ever done. At all times, coffee has been an article but little used in this country; and more than nineteen twentieths of the quantity imported was destined for the Continental market. During this period, however, the coffee culture was increasing rapidly in the French colonies. St Domingo, which in 1770 did not export above 50,000 cwt., had increased its exportation tenfold in 1786. In 1789 it exported 760,000 cwt.; and the crop of 1792 was expected to be 800,000 cwt. * The total average export of coffee from *all* the French islands, before 1785, was 600,000 cwt.; so that the annual export of coffee from the French colonies, previous to 1792, must be estimated at above 900,000 cwt. The whole remaining export of this article, from all the other colonies, did not probably exceed 150,000 cwt. So rapidly was the supply of this produce augmented, and so great a part of the

 whole

* Sir W. Young states the exportation of St Domingo, in 1788, at 320,000 cwt. (p. 74.) evidently from some mistake. The above sums are taken from the report of the Committee of Assembly in Jamaica, 1792; and the remarks of Mr Vaughan, inserted in Bryan Edwards, B. V. c. 4.—The official returns to the Legislative Assembly of France, make the exportation, 1791, above 680,000 cwt., although the rebellion broke out in August of that year.

whole quantity was furnished by St Domingo. The consumption of coffee, however, increased in proportion; and, in 1791, its price stood at 70s. per cwt. The destruction of St Domingo took above seven tenths of the whole supply out of the European market; and the price immediately rose to 90s. The emigration of the French planters, and the new encouragements to speculation offered to our own, by the rise of price, accelerated the increase of this culture in Jamaica. In five years (the time required for the maturity of the coffee plant,) the produce of that island had increased sevenfold; and, in 1805, it exported 190,000 cwt. The foreign colonies have been increasing their coffee planting during the same period; but it is manifest, that the blank occasioned by the loss of St Domingo has not yet been filled up; for the average import of this country for 1804 and 1805 was no more than 308,000 cwt., though it included the produce of all the coffee colonies except Martinico, Guadalope, and Cuba, in which last the sugar cultivation has very far outstripped that of coffee; and the average importation from the same colonies, in 1791, cannot be taken at less than 100,000 cwt.; so that the total increase of coffee in those settlements, where the principal efforts have been made to fill up a blank of 760,000 cwt., does not amount to more than 208,000 cwt. in 1805 *. Accordingly, the price of coffee, in that year, was 6l. per cwt. in the British market, exclusive of duty. As the supply, however, is rapidly augmenting (Jamaica alone having, it is said, coffee walks sufficient speedily to produce 400,000 cwt.), and as considerable obstacles have lately been thrown in the way of our exportation to the Continent, it is certain that this price is on the decline. Indeed, it has fallen, since 1805, to 90 or 95s.

From these details, it is manifest, that the coffee and sugar planter have suffered so very differently from the excessive progress of West India agriculture, since the destruction of St Domingo, merely because that event diminished the whole supply of those two staples in a very different proportion. It is also obvious, that no other cause exists, for the distresses of the sugar trade, than the glut of the whole market of the world, otherwise the coffee trade would have suffered also. We find, on the contrary, that the exportation of coffee has been increasing rapidly to the present time, notwithstanding a duty not drawn back. Yet the Americans carry coffee to the continental markets† much cheaper

* In the year ending September 1806, the Americans, according to their official returns, carried to Europe about 420,000 cwt. of coffee, being nearly the whole crop of the enemy's islands. Admitting that half of this was clear increase since the revolution (which is much above the truth), there remains a deficit of 340,000 cwt.

† See last Note.

cheaper than we can do; and those who ascribe the stoppageof our sugar exports to our being undersold by the neutral flags, must be sensible that coffee should, on their principles, be as much a drug as sugar. Further, it is clear, that the abolition of the slave trade having been carried into effect before the coffee market had been in any degree glutted, there is no danger of the coffee planter falling into the same situation with the sugar planter. Finally, as the deficiency in the supply occasioned by the revolution, has not yet been filled up, there is room for employing, in coffee planting, some of the negroes now engaged in sugar plantations; and as a great proportion of the capital vested in West India estates, consists of the value of the slaves, an opportunity is thus left of obtaining, for this valuable property, something like its fair price.

It is unnecessary to enter into similar details respecting the cotton trade. The demand for manufactures having increased prodigiously while the growth of cotton was making a rapid progress, especially in the Dutch and Portugueze colonies, and in Georgia, the price of the raw article has kept up, until last year, when, from the obstacles thrown in the way of our trade, the cotton manufacture began to experience, in common with the other branches of industry, the practical evils of a general war.

ART. X. *Poems.* By the Rev. J. Mant, M.A. 8vo. London. 1806.

AMONG the many injuries inflicted on the human intellect by the wits (for in truth they did not deserve the name of poets), who 'flourished' in the reign of Charles the Second, none was more permanent in its effects, than the total forgetfulness of that style of poetry which delineates the beauties of the country, and the enjoyment of rural happiness. Few of the inferior topics, however, are so interesting as this; and, to evince how natural it is to love even the plainest description of pleasing and familiar objects, we need only appeal to the popularity so long enjoyed by that dullest of all possible poems, the 'ingenious Mr Pomfret's Choice.' It is however true, that though all the 'gentlemen who wrote with ease,' and rhyming 'persons of honour' of that and the preceding age, occasionally thought it necessary to write pastorals, and to express their love of solitude and rural retirement, yet, by far the greater part knew nothing at all of what they professed to admire; and when sent by debts into the country, considered it only as a horrible banishment among parsons and savages. Their poetical predecessors had no greater delight than in painting by words, and presenting to their readers, a highly coloured image of those sublime natural phenomena

which the town-bred bards, whose idea of a mountain was acquired at Richmond, and who knew nothing of rural beauties but a haycock and a syllabub, had neither enthusiasm to imagine, or sufficient knowledge of the subject to describe. Their pastorals, accordingly, are merely imitations of the worst parts of Virgil; and, instead of real nature, are filled with fauns and satyrs which exist nowhere, or with love and politics, which may be had any where.

They seem never to have suspected, that a lover might despair in Moorfields as well as in Arcadia; and that the stockjobbers at Garraway's, were at least as hearty as the swains of Trent, in their regret for King William's death. Nor did those who, like Philips and Gay, were really accurate observers of rural manners, at all admire or comprehend what were, properly speaking, rural beauties.

The grand and pervading fault, however, of the poets of the early part of the last century, is the indistinctness of their drawing, and the want of picturesque grouping. Milton and Spencer paint the landscapes they describe. Their distances are really indistinct; nor, when Milton describes towers and battlements,

'bosom'd high in tufted trees,'

does he describe the accurate form, or enter into a detail of their windows and furniture. Pope, on the other hand, and the author of Grongar Hill, (by no means the most feeble in their style of poetry), give rather a dry catalogue of beauties, than a representation of their general effect. Light and shade are disregarded; and they describe alike the foreground and the horizon with all the monotonous glare of a Chinese screen.

Thomson was perhaps the first who restored the ancient perception of the more striking features of nature, and brought back to our island a knowledge of her own beauties. Yet his times had so much remaining of bad taste and bad habits, that even Thomson had little opportunity to describe the more remote and sublimer landscape. The country was still considered rather as a threat to disobedient wives, than a desirable residence; and the description of a moor or a waterfall would be little understood or relished by the frequenters of Hampton Court, or those who listened with so much delight to the nightingales at Vauxhall. Goldsmith contributed, perhaps even more than Thomson, to restore good taste in this instance; and Cowper, perhaps, possessed it more than either. Yet, while we admire his powers of description, we must always lament those unfortunate circumstances, which doom'd the eye of a real poet to rest on the flat and unmeaning pastures of Buckinghamshire. He may, however, be said to have blown the enchanted horn; and all the ladies of hills, of woods, and of waters, were immediately in motion. Wealthy clergymen

clergymen began to walk in their forests; village curates to gather dandelions; and philosophers to mourn and moralyze, and murmur over ponds 'three feet long, and two feet wide.' On the whole, we may be perhaps allowed to doubt, whether the advantages of a more accurate observation of nature, have not been counterbalanced, as well by the devouring flight of tourists, as by the equally annoying, and now, equally periodical visitation of tame or forced, or silly descriptions of rural scenery, rural manners, or rural enjoyments.

Amid so much to disgust us, we are disposed, perhaps, to make large allowances, and to turn with real pleasure to the productions of a man of cultivated taste, and unaffected,—who, without the microscopic eye of some of our poetical Leuenhocks, is still an accurate observer of nature, and who feels what he writes, without professing to write from his feeling.

'I more safely like the bee,
Who, in pleasing Chamouny
Roams the piny wood, or skims
Near her hive the liquid streams,
Studious of the scented rhyme;
Weave with care my simple thyme.
Simple, yet sweet withal to these
Whom most I love, and most would please.'

Mr Mant's principal fault is an extraordinary occasional feebleness, which sometimes entirely spoils the effect of what would else be pleasing description.

With some exceptions of this kind, the 'Sunday morning' has great merit as an imitation of the golden age of English poetry. It is painful, however, to have our course stopt in such a poem by being desired,

'Returning home to muse
On sweet and solemn views.'

—which may be an extract from a sermon, as the following is undoubtedly from a village epitaph,

'I hear a voice which speaks to me,
And burn with zeal to follow thee.'

We were much pleased with the 'Inscription in an Arbour,' which is remarkably free from that neglect of perspective which we have censured in the works of many superior poets.

'But if the thrush with warbling clear,
Or whistling blackbird charm thine ear,—
Or rooks that sail with solemn sound
Duly their native pines around,—
Or murmuring bee, or bleating shrill
Of lambkin, from the sheltering hill;—
If thine eye delight to rove
O'er hazel copse, and birchen grove,

Sunny

Sunny field, and shady nook
Ting'd with curls of azure smoke;
Or flocks, whose snowy fleeces crown
The slope side of the russet down—
If thou seek no richer smell
Than such as scents the cowslip bell,
Or southern gale that blows more sweet
From the tufted violet,
Or the gadding woodbine's wreath,
Or the heifer's balmy breath.'—

In this we cannot but observe, both in the choice of the epithets, 'tufted violet'—'gadding woodbine,' &c. and in the easy and natural flow of the whole description, a habit of observing nature accurately, and of seizing such beauties as are best suited to description. We have principally attended to Mr Mant's descriptions of nature, because it is there he seems to us most fortunate. His other poems have, on the whole, little to detain us. We must except from this general sentence, his War Song on the threatened invasion, of which, as well as the Dirge on Lord Nelson's death, it is barely justice to observe, that they are the best on the subject we have yet seen.

'I mourn thee not;—though short thy day,
Circled by glory's brightest ray,
Thy giant course was run:
And victory, her sweetest smile
Reserv'd to bless thy evening toil,
And cheer thy setting sun.
If mighty nations' hosts subdu'd,
If, mid the wasteful scene of blood,
Fair deeds of mercy wrought;—
If thy fond country's joint acclaim,
If Europe's blessing on thy name
Be bliss,—I mourn thee not.'

Mr Mant must learn, however, that the too frequent mention of his own conjugal felicity is very dangerous ground; and that, in general, addresses to private friends, and the occurrences of private families, require a very nervous lyre indeed to preserve them from the ridicule of a world, to whom their persons are uninteresting, and their characters probably unknown.

It is seldom, perhaps, much to the purpose, to praise a poet for his morality; but it must always afford us pleasure, in one particularly of Mr Mant's profession, to observe in his whole volume, and every part of it, a strong and manly train of virtuous sentiment, which may be very advantageously contrasted with the strains of some of his most celebrated contemporaries.

On the whole, though these poems evince (what is no small or vulgar praise) considerable powers both of describing and enjoying

ing the pleasures of an elegant and virtuous retirement, yet we cannot help hinting to Mr Mant, that we think he had more merit in composing than in publishing them. To write smooth verses is a very innocent amusement for a man of leisure and education, —and to read them in manuscript to his family or intimate associates, is also a very venial and amiable indulgence of vanity;—but to push them out into the wide world, is not altogether so safe or laudable a speculation: and, though we are happy to tell him, that we think his talents respectable, yet we feel it a duty to announce to him, that we have not been able to discern in his works any of the tokens of immortality; and to caution him not to put himself in the way of more unmerciful critics.

ART. XI. *General Observations upon the probable Effects of any Measures which have for their object the Increase of the Regular Army; and upon the Principles which should regulate the System for calling out the great Body of the People in Defence of the British Empire.* By a Country Gentleman. 8vo. pp. 100. London and Edinburgh. 1807.

IN considering the various measures which have been brought forward for the purpose of increasing our military strength, we are naturally struck with the ease and rapidity with which established plans are put down, in order to make way for new and more inviting experiments. Every year brings forth some new project; and a military plan, like the minister's budget, is almost expected to make part of the business of each new session of parliament. Does this propensity to continual alteration proceed from any national view of emendation, or is it the result of fickle and of erring counsels? We confess, we are rather inclined to favour the latter supposition, when we consider the origin and the fate of the various projects that have lately succeeded each other on this most important subject. It is now four years since we began to dabble in military matters; from that period we have been continually groping, with blind improvidence, from one experiment to another; and we now seem to be as far from any certain or settled views on the subject, as when we first set out. We appear, indeed, to have exhausted our stock of expedients; and having no new device to exhibit, we are forced to have recourse to an old project, which, in an unlucky moment of sober reflection, we had abandoned for its iniquity and folly. There is, indeed, no department of our policy (although it is proper to speak with diffidence on this point) in which such puerility and mismanagement have been displayed, as in the measures which have been adopted for the increase of our army; it

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is on this account that we propose to make a sober appeal to the good sense of the country on the principle of those measures; fully convinced that, when they are brought to the test of reason and argument, their true tendency and character will quickly appear. For the sake of clearness, we must premise a very few general observations.

There are two ways, and only two, in which a state may recruit its armies; either by compulsion, or by voluntary service. Where the first of these modes is adopted, the business is accomplished with very little trouble to the government. The men are taken wherever they are found; and nothing is required but an order for a levy or conscription. As this mode of proceeding saves an infinite deal of trouble to the rulers, so it has always been much in favour with those who had the means of enforcing it, and, under one form or another, has been very generally adopted. Even in this country, although we have not often resorted to direct compulsion, our policy has always had a leaning that way. This has, indeed, been justified on the ground of necessity; but statesmen are always eager to lay hold of this plea as an apology for their own incapacity or sloth. Before admitting it, therefore, it will be proper to consider, whether there are any inherent disadvantages in the military profession, which prevents the state from procuring, by voluntary inlistment, the number of men necessary for its defence.

It is an undoubted fact, that in every other calling, whenever an additional number of hands is wanted, they are always procured without any violent interference with the natural order of society. The manufacturer, when he is setting up new works, never speculates on the possibility of being obstructed in his schemes by the want of workmen; and there is no employment, however disagreeable, disgusting, or dirty, however dangerous or unhealthy, to which there is the slightest difficulty in diverting the quantity of industry which society requires. It is natural, therefore, to inquire, how it happens that individuals are so successful in procuring, for their several vocations, the voluntary services of as many men as they require, while those, to whom the government of the country has been entrusted, although they have been dealing in military plans and projects for some years, have never been able to raise such a number of men as they judged necessary. The reason of this, however, will clearly appear, when it is considered that the means adopted by the two parties for attaining their respective objects, are wholly opposite. An individual, when he is recruiting for any employment which is disagreeable or unhealthy, knows he will not procure men on the same terms as those who are engaging them for more eligible occupations. He offers higher

higher wages, therefore; and when he has thus compensated the disadvantages of his calling, and set it on a level with other callings, he will procure the number of men which he wants. Unless the government of a country acts upon precisely the same principles in recruiting for soldiers, they can never hope to fill up their armies by means of voluntary inlistments; and where, in any shape, it is found impossible to turn the requisite proportion of the population to the military profession, this is a plain proof that sufficient encouragements are not held out:—we may rest assured that the pay and the privileges of the soldier are not such as to place him on a level with men in other employments. In that case, there is no resource, but either to resort to direct compulsion, or to apply a remedy to this radical defect in our military policy. The condition of the soldier must be ameliorated; it must be rendered, in advantages, in credit, in term of service, in present emolument, and in future provision, so desirable, as easily and naturally to draw from the population of the country the supply of men which may be required for its defence.

In Britain, the recruiting for the army has always gone on heavily, although every sort of chicanery and deception has been employed to entrap those into the service into which they could not be honestly persuaded to enter, and although the goals have also been occasionally drained, in order to make up the deficiences of the ordinary supply. This difficulty has obviously arisen from the very inadequate encouragement offered to soldiers. Through the inattention of government, their pay had received no augmentation for more than a century, although, during that period, the wages of all other labour had been more than doubled; and when a soldier was disabled in the service, he was dismissed with a very scanty provision for his future subsistence:—when he was regularly discharged, although he had spent the greater part of his life in the army, no part of his pay was continued to him. The cruel and degrading discipline which prevailed in the British army, tended also to spread a very general aversion to the service among the sober and thinking part of the community. In the civil code, the punishment of whipping is reserved for the most atrocious offences, and is supposed to draw after it a total forfeiture of estimation and character; but it is astonishing to observe for what slight offences it was formerly inflicted in the army, and how very little it contributed to the disgrace of the individual. Its frequency and cruelty rendered him, indeed, rather an object of sympathy among his companions; and, in this manner, the moral part of the punishment was effectually destroyed, while the alienation and terror which it excited, produced the most incalculable injury to the service.

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On witnessing the spectacle of a military execution, how must the honest labourer shudder at the idea of being himself exposed to such dreadful severity, or of sending his children into the army, which he would naturally enough conclude to be nothing better than a school of tyranny and of crime. When to all these disagreeable impressions is added the indefinite term of service, we need not wonder at the aversion which the great body of the people discover towards the military profession. To be irrevocably fixed to any employment by an obligation directly compulsory, is an idea sufficiently repulsive and galling; but when, with this mode of life, various associations are connected, of the most odious kind, the most active efforts to recruit the army can only be attended with very partial success. It is remarked by Dr Smith, and the fact is indeed notorious, that no man inlists into the army with the consent either of his parents or friends. From that moment they consider him as lost, and exert all the influence they possess to deter him from what they consider as a ruinous step. It is impossible to do away these prejudices against a military life, unless we resolve at once to do justice to the military profession, and to set it completely on a level with all other professions. To lament over the expense which will be incurred in carrying this measure into effect, is quite useless and ridiculous. If defence be necessary, it must be paid for; and, in our opinion, the country cannot be so effectually and cheaply protected as by paying at once the fair price for a regular army. The annual expense of our idle expeditions would pay this price four times over.

The inefficiency of our military policy, from whatever causes it arose, being too obvious to be denied, immediately after the breaking out of the present war a plan was submitted to parliament for supplying the deficiences of the ordinary recruiting. It was supposed, at that time, that the enemy was just about to carry into effect his threats of invasion. The plan, it was said, was therefore suited to the urgency of the crisis, and was to furnish an immediate supply of 50,000 men. They were to be raised by a forced conscription; the conscripts were allowed to find a substitute or to pay a fine of 20l., which exempted them from the ballot for one year. The forces so raised were not to serve abroad. In considering this plan, it is evident that the advantages of direct compulsion were, in a great measure, lost by commuting personal service for a pecuniary fine. The measure really operated as a tax; and no tax certainly can be conceived more iniquitous and oppresive, than where the objects of taxation are selected, not because they are able to pay, but because they happen to be of a certain age. The idea of personal service, on which the scheme

appeared

appeared to be founded, was, in fact, relinquished by the admission of fine and substitution. The burden ought therefore to have been extended, not only to those who were able to serve, but to those who were able to pay. The quota of each county might have been fixed by government, but the expence of raising the men ought to have been equally defrayed by the whole community; or, indeed, the business might have been more easily, as well as more expeditiously, accomplished, if men, practised in recruiting, had been employed to procure for the counties their respective quotas, and the expence had been charged upon them as a tax by government. But where is the necessity or utility of apportioning a certain quota of men to each county? Would it not have been as eligible for government to have raised the required number of men, and to have defrayed the expense out of the general fund raised by taxes? This naturally brings us back to the principle from which we set out, namely, that government ought to raise an army perfectly adequate to the defence of the country, whatever it may cost; and the expense or hardship ought to be borne by the community at large, and not by individuals, capriciously selected for the purpose. There is no doubt that men may be raised by means of money judiciously applied. It is both unjust and cruel, therefore, to force individuals into a service, into which, for a little better encouragement, they might be persuaded to enter voluntarily; and this, too, for the purpose of saving the rich from a very slight addition to the load of taxes which they already bear.

The necessity of the case—the urgency of the crisis—was constantly brought forward as an apology for the partiality and severity of the measure. The number of men wanted could not, it was said, be raised by voluntary inlistment; it was necessary, therefore, to resort to extraordinary means. Now, though necessity is certainly a complete justification of the severity of a measure, it is no excuse at all for its partiality. But so far is it from being true that the men could not be raised by voluntary inlistment, that this, after all, was the way in which they were actually raised. The lot generally fell on those whose habits rendered them completely averse to a military life; or whose avocations rendered it impossible for them to serve personally. They were forced, therefore, either to pay the fine or to provide a substitute. The consequence of which was, that nine tenths of the army of reserve were substitutes. They were raised therefore at last, by voluntary enlistment; and they were raised by individuals totally unpractised in the business of recruiting. The bounties given were accordingly enormous; and they at last rose so high, that a final stop was put to every sort of recruiting; so that the number of men proposed to be raised by this plan were never completed.

completed. Its efficiency was, however, greatly boasted of by its authors and supporters. To us it appears, that all that it effected might have been much more easily brought about, and with far less oppression to the country, by other means. It is to be considered also, that the force raised by this measure was, by its constitution, rendered stationary in the country;—that it could not protect our distant possessions, or be rendered the source of active annoyance to our enemy;—it could not therefore increase our respect abroad, nor could it add to our influence in the counsels of the continental powers. The consequence accordingly was, that, having thus studiously crippled our force, and adapted it to one solitary mode of annoyance, when we at last succeeded in kindling a continental war, we were disabled by our own blind improvidence from interfering with the weight of our resources in that contest which irrevocably decided the fate of Europe.

The disorder and mischief which the operation of the ballot began to produce, became at length too notorious to be concealed. Bounties rose to 50l. and 60l. and substitutes could not be procured at any price. The recruiting for the army was also completely stopped. It was asserted, to be sure, that although a bounty of 40l. and 50l. was given for substitutes for the army of reserve, the recruiting for the army went on as successfully as ever; which involved the following extraordinary assertion, that men preferred a bounty of 15l. to a bounty of 40l. Now that the support of the measure is no longer an article of ministerial faith, it appears inconceiveable to every one how so monstrous a proposition could ever have been ventured upon. Although the ballot, however, was thus satisfactorily shown not to retard the recruiting of the army, yet it was thought necessary, for reasons which state policy no doubt prevented from being disclosed, to suspend its operation; and it was afterwards repealed. It was hooted and exploded indeed by all parties for its evident iniquity, and for the actual misery which it had occasioned.

After such recent experience of the mischiefs of projects rashly adopted, and hastily abandoned, it might naturally have been expected, that we would have resorted to some sound and obvious principle of common sense, for the future regulation of our military policy; that, afraid of blindly trusting the success of such important arrangements to chance, we would have checked our rage for device and experiment, and have considered, whether it might not be practicable to recommend a military life to the voluntary choice of the people, by connecting with it such substantial advantages as could not be hoped for in any other profession. Such at least appears to us to be the most obvious and rational

rational method of recruiting the army; and we cannot help thinking, that if a system, founded on this principle, had been adopted, instead of being exhausted by a sudden effort, it would have grown more efficient the more generally it was known; and might, at length, have freed us from that constant fluctuation of council, from which it is impossible that substantial strength of any kind can result. The plan proposed was unfortunately very ill calculated to remove any of the evils complained of. Its principal object was to put an end to the obstacles which arose from the competition of high bounties, and to make good the existing deficiences in the army of reserve, and in the militia, amounting in the former to 9000 men, and in the latter to 7000. For this purpose the recruiting service was to be entrusted to parish officers, who were prohibited by act of parliament from giving a higher bounty than 15*l.* In case the efforts of these worthy persons should prove unsuccessful, the counties were to be fined 20*l.* for each man deficient. Upon what principle of common sense it was imagined, that parish officers with a bounty of 15*l.* could persuade men to enlist who had refused a bounty of 30*l.* or 40*l.* from a recruiting serjeant, we are at a loss to discover. As little can we conceive, by what rule of policy or of justice, the counties were to be fined for the bad success of their parish officers. This provision, though extremely oppressive to the counties, could not be expected to operate as a stimulus to the zeal of parish officers. But the whole plan was indeed an outrage against the most obvious maxims of policy and of reason. We never could discover upon what rational principle it was founded. It always appeared to us to be a collection of conceits and devices, arbitrarily and carelessly patched together.

In apologizing for the failure of the measure, Mr Pitt only accounted for it; he pointed out the reasons why it had failed; but his statements clearly showed that it was impossible it could have succeeded. Such, however, is the inordinate complacency of mankind for their own schemes, that Mr Pitt was very far from attributing the miscarriage of his measure to any defect in its principle or contrivance; he rather chose to imagine a want of zeal and patriotism in the people of England; and boldly asserted, that it was entirely owing to a misconception which had gone abroad, that the penalties leviable on the counties, in case the provisions of the act were not complied with, would not be exacted, that the number of men required were not procured;—and, after declaring that these penalties would be rigorously exacted, he expressed the most perfect confidence respecting the ultimate success of his project. It was no doubt true, that very little activity had been displayed in carrying this

scheme into effect, because it was universally believed to be absurd and impracticable; nor was it very gratifying to observe the people deriding the folly and weakness of the government, and the government, on the other hand, charging the people with a want of zeal in their own cause; and hinting to them, that it would be much for their benefit to have their patriotic efforts stimulated by fines and penalties. It is certainly very unaccountable, how a statesman of Mr Pitt's acknowledged abilities should have given his sanction to so mean and foolish a project.

The parish-bill, as it was generally termed, was repealed very soon after the accession of the last ministry, and another measure substituted in its place. By that measure, the term of military service was divided into three periods, of seven years each. At the end of every period the soldier might claim his discharge; if he left the army after the first period, he was entitled to exercise his trade in any town in Britain; at the end of the second period, he was besides entitled to a pension of 3s. 6d. per week; and he was dismissed from the army, after having served twenty-one years, with a pension of 7s. per week. If he was wounded or disabled in the service, he was to receive the same pension as if he had served out the full term. During the second and third period of his service, he received a small advance of pay.

This is undoubtedly the first measure for recruiting the army, in which we can discern any thing like an appeal to the principles of common sense. The object is to raise men by voluntary enlistment; and accordingly, it proceeds upon the principle of recommending the military profession to the attention of the people by the solid advantages which it holds out to them. It endeavours to place the calling of the soldier on a level with all other callings, in order that the number of men which is required for the defence of the state may be naturally drawn from the population of the country. We can conceive no other way in which this object can be attained; and, as far as we have had access to observe the operation of this measure, its success has been very conspicuous. A great number of young men, from about seventeen to twenty-five years of age, have been induced to enter into the army from the comparatively great encouragements now held out to them. The short term of service is a regulation peculiarly acceptable. The objections which were urged against this measure scarcely deserve notice; they were such as might have been expected from those who could wrangle with such plodding perseverance in defence of the folly and absurdity of the parish bill. The additional expence was grudged, although it would be difficult to show in what way money could be expended with such sure and ample returns of advantage, as in ameliorating

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ing the condition of the soldier: there is no way of procuring military service but by paying the just price for it, unless, indeed, it be wrung from the misery and oppression of the poor. The inconvenience arising from men claiming their discharge at the expiration of their several terms of service, was strongly urged; and some inconvenience may no doubt result from this regulation; but, with a very little foresight, it appears to us, that it may be easily provided for. Our choice, it must be recollected, lies between opposite evils; and we can scarcely conceive one greater than the general aversion which the indefinite term of service created to a military life. It was argued, indeed, that men would as soon enlist for life as for seven years; which may serve to show the straits to which those who opposed the measure were reduced. It appears to us, that the principle of the plan was quite invulnerable, and that its particular provisions furnished the only plausible ground of attack. It might have been urged, that the additions of pay in the two different periods of service were too small; that, considering the high wages of common and manufacturing labour, the weekly pensions as a reward for service were not sufficiently liberal. And it must be confessed, indeed, that it would have been better to have erred on the side of liberality than on that of economy. We have always been too nigardly in rewarding both military and naval service. It will be recollected, that the last rise both in the pay of the army and navy, was procured, not from the thoughtful liberality of government, but by means of the mutiny in the fleet. As that matter, however, is regulated by government, the pay both of the seamen and soldiers, ought from time to time to be taken under their consideration, and to be augmented according as the wages in other employments rise. The pay of the seamen ought evidently to be measured by the wages given in the merchant service, and the pay of the army by the wages of common labour. To force men into an employment which they dislike, and to pay them too little for their service, is to add fraud to violence.

Notwithstanding, however, all the encouragements offered to voluntary enlistment, it was said to be impossible, without adopting more efficient measures, even to keep up the army to its present numbers. No proof was indeed offered of the truth of this assertion. But, allowing it to be true, what did it prove? Not that the principle of the measure already adopted was wrong, but merely that the encouragements which it held out to enter into the army were still insufficient. The details of the plan might therefore have been improved without varying from the principle; as it is evident that nothing tends to produce greater confusion and weakness than continual alteration: and nothing also more clearly

indicates a total want of any steady principle of action, or of any settled rule of policy. The plan brought forward since the change of administration, does not indeed directly repeal the last measure for increasing the army; but it interferes with it so materially, that for a considerable time it must be rendered utterly nugatory. It is neither more nor less than a revival of the ballot as a temporary expedient; that ballot which all parties had concurred in reprobating and abolishing as partial, cruel, and oppressive. The recourse which is had at present to this exceptionable mode of raising men, is, indeed, justified on the ground of necessity. Politicians are generally very fond of imagining cases of necessity; they afford a most convenient apology for every illegal stretch of power, and for every deviation from the rules of justice or of sound policy. The following very simple considerations will show, however, that, in the present case, the plea is advanced with even less than the common apology.

It appears to us to be one very great recommendation of voluntary enlistment, that it recruits the army from that class of the population to whom a military life is no hardship,—to whom it even presents powerful attractions. Even although the expense of raising men in this way should exceed that of raising them by a compulsory conscription, yet, if the burden were fairly distributed, we are convinced the sum of hardship imposed upon the community in general would be infinitely less. The ballot extends from the age of 17 to 45; the lot must consequently fall generally on those who are soberly settled at some regular pursuit,—who are married, perhaps, and have families,—to all whose habits the military profession is completely revolting, and whose views of life it would utterly confound and disturb. Rather than enter into the army, therefore, such persons either insure themselves against the risk of the ballot, or they enter into clubs. The expense of insuring is from three to five guineas per annum. It is not easy to say what may be the expense to each individual in a club. It may probably be from three to four guineas. Those therefore, who can by borrowing, or by any other exertion, raise this money, will not run the risk of the ballot, although they must abridge themselves of the necessaries of life in order to repay it.* A heavy tax is thus levied on those whose necessities should wholly exempt them from all direct taxation, and who ought to be very lightly touched by any sort of impost. As, by the present plan, the paying of a fine exempts indeed the individual

* We know one individual, with a wife and two children, and only nine shillings per week, who paid fifty shillings to be free from the ballot for the militia and army of reserve.

dividual from the ballot for one year, but does not stop the operation of the ballot, it is the interest of the clubs to raise the men at any price, rather than pay the fine. But they have no way of procuring men but by voluntary enlistment. *They* cannot have recourse to ballots. That by far the greater part of the men procured will be raised by clubs and insurance offices, we can have no doubt, as it appears, by returns laid before Parliament, that both in the militia, and in the army of reserve, the principals bore no proportion to the substitutes. That the proportion of principals will be greater in the present than in any former levy, we readily admit, because the means of relief are less attainable; and it must be observed, that the principals consist of those who are disabled, by their scanty means, from securing the enjoyment of their liberty. Their exposure to the ballot seems to be imposed on them by the humanity of the Legislature as a penalty on their poverty. As it appears evident, therefore, that the greater part of the men raised will be procured by voluntary enlistment, what, it may be asked, becomes of the argument drawn from the necessity of the case? Cannot government procure the men by voluntary enlistment as well as individuals? And would it not be fully more equitable to raise them in this way, and to defray the expense, by an *equal* tax on the community in general, than to exact it principally from the labouring classes of society? It looks almost as if the authors of this severe measure were more anxious to save the rich from contribution, than the poor from oppression. We cannot forget how they whined about the expense of voluntary inlistment, when it was proposed to provide for it in Parliament; but now that it is to fall upon the poor individually, they seem to think it of no importance. The discontent and disaffection produced by this project, is not among the least of its evils. To talk to men, who are forcibly dragged into the army, of the blessings of liberty, must be admitted to be a little unseasonable; and we have heard, indeed, from those who were the objects of this severity, various shrewd sarcasms on the blessing of living under a free government. Other objections might have been enumerated to this measure, such as the renewing of the old competition between the bounties of the regular army, and the bounties of private recruiting; but we wished principally to appeal to the country, and to Parliament, on its manifest injustice and inhumanity.

With respect to the other modes of defence which have been adopted, namely, the volunteer system, the training act, &c. it is not our intention to say much. We cannot help observing, however, that, in case of invasion, it appears to us that our main reliance must be placed on the exertions of the regular ar-

my. Those who argue in favour of the efficacy of militia and volunteers, do not seem to consider, that the country in which they would have to act is exceedingly unfavourable to their operations. It is only in woody, mountainous, and difficult countries, where there is abundance of defensive positions, that inexperienced troops can be employed with any hope of success against veterans. This was precisely the case in America; and if our readers will look into the history of the American war, they will find that the object of General Howe was always to bring Washington to a battle on fair and equal terms, which the latter always declined, by retiring to strong defensive positions on the high grounds; and these positions he still further fortified, by throwing up entrenchments, in order to prevent the possibility of being dislodged. Why, it may be asked, did the two hostile generals, in pursuing the same objects, namely, the ruin of their respective opponents, adopt such opposite means for its attainment? Evidently, because they were both of opinion that the American levies were unable to withstand the British army in the field. Had America been a flat country, however, Washington would have had no defensive positions to retire to, and it is probable his army must have been soon ruined. Now, this is precisely the case in Britain. The country is level, and abounding with excellent roads, and in any part of it almost an enemy might be forced to a battle without any very decided advantage of position. The skill of the officers, therefore, and the bravery of the troops, must evidently be our only reliance. And to us it has always appeared, that discipline was something very different from mere proficiency in the manual and platoon exercise. The battle of Jena shows that men may have the external appearance of soldiers, without any thing of their real character. The Prussians were probably dressed in very smart uniforms, and, we have no doubt, went through all their manœuvres with complete accuracy. And yet, how completely were they discomfited by the attack of the French! It will be recollected, also, that 6000 of our militia fled before about 1200 French in Ireland; which may serve to show us how little dependence can be placed in that sort of troops. We throw out these observations merely to recommend caution, and to prevent men from being placed in situations for which they are unfit.

ART.

ART. XII. *Corinne, ou L'Italie. Par Madame De Staël Holstein.* A Londres, chez M. Peltier. 1807.

THE plan of this work, if not altogether new, is at least very different from that of an ordinary novel. The object of Madame de Staël has been, to intermix, with the incidents of a fictitious narrative, the description of whatever was to be found in Italy most worthy of attention, while that country remained in full enjoyment of the noble patrimony which it inherited from past ages. This attempt, therefore, is in some respects the same with that of Barthelemi, in the Travels of the Younger Anacharsis. It must, however, be admitted, that the union of the true with the imaginary is much more skilfully effected in the work before us than in that of the French academician. The story, by which he has endeavoured to connect together his descriptions of Greece, is, in itself, dull and uninteresting, and comes across the reader every now and then as an unseasonable interruption. The narrative of Madame de Staël is as lively and affecting as her descriptions are picturesque and beautiful; so that each of them, by itself, could maintain a high place in the species of composition to which it belongs. The conception of the story is also in a high degree original; the difference of national character is the force that sets all in motion; and it is Great Britain and Italy, the extremes of civilized Europe, that are personified and contrasted in the hero and heroine of this romantic tale.

Oswald, Lord Nelvil, is a Scots nobleman of great promise and accomplishment, who at the age of twenty-five travels into Italy on account of his health. The loss of a father, whom he loved with more than filial affection, and absence at the moment of his father's death (which, though unavoidable, seemed, in his rigorous estimate of duty, to involve a degree of culpability) had produced a deep melancholy, that made him indifferent to life, and little concerned either about its pleasures or its pains. In the circuitous route which he was obliged to pursue (it was in 1794) he passed through Inspruck, and there made an acquaintance with the Count d'Erfeuil, a French emigrant, whom he carried with him into Italy. The gay, frivolous, and unsteady character of the Count, is well delineated throughout; and he finds in these qualities, as so many of his countrymen have lately done, a defence against misfortune, more effectual perhaps than the deepest thought and most unshaken constancy would have afforded.

As they passed through Ancona, a fire that happened in the town, and threw all the inhabitants into dismay, called forth the

activity of Lord Nelvil, and gave occasion for him to show, that, in proportion as he was regardless of his own sufferings, he was disposed to feel for the sufferings of others.

When they arrived in Rome, Lord Nelvil found that a journey through a country where he knew nobody, and was known to none, so far from removing the gloom that hung over his mind, had only rendered his insulation from the world more complete. On the day, however, after his arrival, the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon announced some great solemnity; and he was told, on enquiry, that CORINNA was going to be *crowned* in the *Capitol.* To the question, who is CORINNA? he received for answer, that she was the most celebrated personage in all Italy,—an excellent poet,—an *improvisatrice*,—and one of the most beautiful women in Rome. That her first work had appeared about five years before,—that she was a woman of fortune,—but that of her birth and family nothing certain was known.

This mixture of mystery and celebrity excited the curiosity of the strangers, and they made haste to mingle in the crowd. Corinna appeared in a chariot drawn by four white horses; and was conveyed to the Capitol, amid the shouts and applauses of the Roman people. The Prince de Castel Forte pronounced a speech in her praise; she herself spoke an extempore poem in praise of Italy; and *the Senator* of Rome placed a crown of myrtle and of laurel on her head. Nelvil felt himself interested in this extraordinary scene, and in the singular person who gave occasion to it. His appearance had also been remarked by Corinna; and, as she descended the stairs of the Capitol, turning about to look at him, her crown fell on the ground; Nelvil, catching it up, presented it to her, with a suitable compliment; to which she replied in good English, without any trace of a foreign accent.

The novelty of the whole scene, and the surprise occasioned by this last circumstance, could not but produce in Nelvil the strongest desire to become acquainted with Corinna. While he was contriving in his own mind how this was to be brought about, he found that his wishes were anticipated by Count d'Erfeuil, who had already written a note to Corinna, requesting that he and his friend might be permitted to wait on her. The account of the first visit to Corinna,—the description of her house,—her person,—her conversation,—are striking and beautiful in the highest degree. Nelvil began to feel more interest in life than he had done for a long time. Their intercourse was kept up; and, after a little, Corinna, as Nelvil was yet an entire stranger to Rome, offered herself to become his guide and conductor to all the curiosities of the ancient metropolis of the world.

world. Here a field is opened for the display of taste, learning, and eloquence; and it is but justice to say, that Corinna is every where equal to her subject. The observations which Madame de Staël has put in the mouth of her accomplished heroine, are those of a person of taste and sentiment, who has strongly felt, and deeply studied, the impressions made by whatever is great or beautiful in nature or in art. In the mean time, the mutual passion of Nelvil and Corinna was fed by the display of so much talent, genius, and feeling, and by the entire sympathy produced by the constant admiration of the same objects. The character of Corinna becomes more interesting as it developes itself; all her powers and accomplishments are joined to an extreme simplicity and sincerity of mind, to that entire want of selfishness, that *abandon de soi même*, which is the charm of charms. Though the mind of Nelvil yielded to the force of those impressions, there were some elements in it more refractory than the rest, from the resistance of which was to be expected one of those struggles so consoling to the writers, and so distressing to the heroes of romance. As the citizen of a free country, he was passionately attached to it; he considered himself as called by his rank to take a share in active life; and no consideration could have induced him to think of living any where but in Britain. The difficulty that a woman, accustomed like Corinna to the manners of Italy, and to the public admiration which she every day experienced, must feel in accommodating herself to the duties of domestic life, and to the retirement and privacy in which an English woman passes her time, appeared to him an insurmountable obstacle to their union. He knew, too, that it had been the wish of his father that he should marry Lucilia, the daughter of his friend Lord Edgermond; and, though no formal proposal had ever been made to that effect, yet Nelvil was accustomed to regard the slightest intimation of his father's will as a law, which his death had only rendered more binding. It is here, however, that, combined with those high principles of honour and of filial piety, the faulty part of Lord Nelvil's character comes in sight. If he could not think of devoting himself to Corinna; if he could not reconcile his doing so with his ideas of duty or of happiness, he should have tied himself, like Ulysses, to the mast, and fled from a Syren, who charmed, as Homer's did, with the voice of wisdom. But he was irresolute, and yielded to present impressions: though, in matters of mere opinion, he seemed abundantly decided, his active principles were not equally firm; and, without any settled plan, he continued to pass his time in the society of Corinna. The explanation of her story was necessary, at all events, to enable him to determine what line of conduct he must pursue; and though she

she promised to give that explanation, she constantly excused herself, and put it off to a time more distant. Nelvil fell ill; and Corinna, waving an etiquette that could be set aside in Italy, but that could not have been dispensed with in England, went to his lodgings, and attended him, during a tedious sickness, with the utmost tenderness and assiduity. On his convalescence, they travel together to Naples, where a new field of observation opens, hardly less interesting than that which Rome had afforded. On the eve of their departure from Naples, she put into the hands of Lord Nelvil a paper, containing the explanation he had been so impatient to receive. Nothing can be more unexpected than the discovery now made. Corinna is no other than the daughter of Lord Edgermond, by his first wife, an Italian lady, and so is the half-sister of Lucilia Edgermond, whom we have just mentioned. Her education, till she was fifteen, had been in Italy; she was about ten years old when her mother died: her father, leaving her to the care of an aunt, returned to England, where he married again, and where he brought his daughter, about five years after her mother's death. Here abundant room is given for description and contrast, both of manners and situation. Think of a young girl of fifteen, taken from the centre of Italy, with all the fire of genius just beginning to warm her, which had burst forth with such splendour in her maturer years;—think of her taken from the sun and climate of that favoured region, and transplanted at once to a land of strangers, to a village in the bleak climate and among the tame hills of Northumberland. The feeling description which she gives of this change, the satyre, and at the same time the insight into the human character and manners, displayed in this part of the story, will be read *here* with peculiar interest. Miss Edgermond found herself under the dominion of a step-mother, cold, haughty, and reserved; and her father, governed by his wife, transformed, from the gay and fashionable man that she had seen him a few years before, to a grave and stiff personage, bending under the leaden mantle which *Mediocrity*, according to DANTE, throws over the shoulders of all who pass under his yoke. The formal manners and cloudy sky of this country were intolerable to Miss Edgermond; and her only pleasure was in attending to the education of her young sister.

She had, in her father's house, an opportunity of seeing the late Lord Nelvil, who made a visit to Edgermond-Hall, and who had signified to her father a wish that she might be married to his son. Whatever the impression was that the manner and character of Miss Edgermond had made on him, was unknown; but, on his return home, he wrote to Lord Edgermond, that he thought her too young for his son. Lord Edgermond died soon after; and when she herself came of age, being put in possession

possession of her mother's fortune, and also of what her father had left her, she returned to the country whose remembrance was so deeply impressed upon her mind; assumed the name of Corinna, and became the admiration and the boast of Italy.

In this recital, though there was nothing that detracted from the merits of Corinna, there was sufficient to unsettle the mind of Lord Nelvil, fluctuating between love, and a vague or indistinct idea of duty. He proposed to return to England, to learn if possible what the circumstances were that had disinclined his father to the proposed match between Miss Edgermond and himself. He did not consider that the time was past for giving way to such considerations; and that his obligation never to forsake Corinna, but to unite his destiny to hers, had now become paramount to all other duties,—Corinna, to whom his faith had been so often pledged, who had so entirely devoted herself to him, had nursed him in his sickness, and had sacrificed for him the admiration of the world!

She was overwhelmed by Nelvil's determination, but recovered sufficient spirits to return with him to Rome, and afterwards to proceed to Venice. The description of Venice is here introduced with great effect; and this spot, more *sombre* and *triste* than the rest of Italy, is judiciously chosen for the parting scene between Nelvil and Corinna. She had been prevailed on to act the part of Juliet (in a translation of Shakespeare's Romeo), and had performed it with the greatest applause, when Lord Nelvil received dispatches from England, informing him that his regiment was ordered to the West Indies. He must set out immediately, and Corinna must remain in Italy. The parting in the midst of the night, surrounded by the silence and mystery of the Venetian capital, is highly pathetic, and worked up with all the adventitious circumstances that can be supposed to aggravate the pain of separation.

From this point the conduct of the story evidently declines: probability is too often disregarded; the objects, though still interesting, are less agreeable; and the circumstances of distress are too much accumulated. Lord Nelvil remains in the West Indies for four years: the state of his mind makes him careless of life; and he distinguishes himself greatly as a soldier. Corinna lives retired and disconsolate in the neighbourhood of Venice all that time, her mind in a state of perpetual agitation, the brilliancy of her imagination impaired, and the powers of her mind all going to decline. She resolves, having heard nothing for a long time from Nelvil, to visit England, and arrives in London nearly about the time that he returns from the West Indies. She witnesses, unknown to him, the review of his regiment in Hyde Park. Her doubts about his sentiments

timents prevent her from discovering herself; and in this there is a manifest departure from the simplicity of character which she has hitherto constantly maintained. As Nelvil hears nothing from her, he begins to think that she has forgot him. He visits Lady Edgermond, and, by her address, is induced to make proposals of marriage to her daughter Lucilia. Corinna, being informed of this by report, goes down to Northumberland. She is present in the gardens of Edgermond-Hall, when a ball is given by Lady Edgermond, and takes that occasion to return to Lord Nelvil (by a blind man whom she meets with accidentally) a ring which he had given her, and which was to remain the pledge of his fidelity. The marriage takes place; and Corinna, in wandering about through England in this forlorn situation, meets by chance with Count D'Erfeuil, by whom she is conducted to Plymouth, and, taking ship there, returns to Italy. She remains at Florence; and the wane of a person and a mind, both of such distinguished excellence, expressed with the eloquence and feeling of Madame de Staël, affords one of the most melancholy pictures which we have any where found delineated.

Lady Nelvil is described as worthy, intelligent, and accomplished, but, at the same time, cold, reserved, and distant in her manners. Lord Nelvil, unhappy in his mind, feels his health decline; is advised to go to Italy; finds out Corinna when she is fast approaching to her end. Lady Nelvil is introduced to her as her sister. The interview is extremely pathetic. Corinna declines seeing Lord Nelvil; and encounters death with great composure.

Such is the outline of a story, which, though obviously faulty in many respects, and involving in it so little incident, the genius of the author has contrived to render extremely interesting. We shall select but a few out of the many passages that seem to us deserving of attention, of those in particular, where, to use the words of Lord Nelvil, we see Rome 'interprétée par l'imagination et le genie.'

When Corinna and Nelvil were going to St Peter's, they stopped before the castle of St Angelo;

'Voilà, dit Corinne, l'un des édifices dont l'extérieur a le plus d'originalité; ce tombeau d'Adrien, changé en forteresse par les Goths, porte le double caractère de sa première et de sa seconde destination. Bâti pour la mort, une impénétrable enceinte l'environne, et cependant les vivans y ont ajouté quelque chose d'hostile par les fortifications extérieures qui contrastent avec le silence et la noble inutilité d'un monument funéraire. On voit sur le sommet un ange de bronze avec son épée nue, et dans l'intérieur sont pratiquées des prisons fort cruelles. Tous les evénemens de l'histoire de Rome depuis Adrien jusqu'à nos jours sont liés à ce monument. Bélisaire s'y défendit contre les Goths, et presqu'aussi

qu'aussi barbare que ceux qui l'attaquaient, il lança contre ses ennemis les belles statues qui décoraient l'intérieur de l'édifice. Crescentius, Arnault de Brescia, Nicolas Rienzi, ces amis de la liberté Romaine, qui ont pris si souvent les souvenirs pour des espérances, se sont défendus long-temps dans le tombeau d'un empereur. J'aime ces pierres qui s'unissent à tant de faits illustres. J'aime ce luxe du maitre du monde un magnifique tombeau. Il y a quelque chose de grand dans l'homme qui, possesseur de toutes les jouissances et de toutes les pompes terrestres, ne craint pas de s'occuper long-temps d'avance de sa mort. Des idées morales, des sentimens désintéressés remplissent l'ame dès qu'elle sort de quelque manière des bornes de la vie.' I. 158—160.

'When St Peter's appeared, "Behold, said Corinna, the greatest edifice ever constructed by man; for the pyramids of Egypt themselves are inferior to it in height. I ought, perhaps, said she, to have shown you the finest of our buildings last; but that is not my method. I think that, to render ourselves sensible to the fine arts, we ought to begin by seeing those objects which inspire a lively and profound admiration. This sentiment, once felt, reveals, as it were, a new sphere of ideas, and makes us capable of admiring and judging those things, which, though of an inferior order, retrace the first impression we received. All these gradual approaches, these prudent and artful means of preparing us for great effects, are not according to my taste; we cannot reach the sublime by degrees; and an infinite distance separates it even from the beautiful." Oswald felt an extraordinary emotion on coming in front of St Peter's. It was the first time that the work of man had produced on him the effect of a wonder of nature. It is the only labour of art upon our globe, which possesses the grandeur that characterizes the works of nature. Corinna enjoyed the astonishment of Oswald. "I have chosen, said she, a day in which the sun is in full splendour, to show you this monument. I reserve for you a pleasure more heartfelt, more sacred, to contemplate it by moon-light; but it was necessary first to introduce you to the most brilliant of festivals, the genius of man, embellished by the magnificence of nature."

'An obelisk 80 feet high, which seems nothing compared with the cupola of the church, stands in front of St Peter's. That monument, brought from Egypt to adorn the baths of Caligula, and which Sextus Quintus caused afterwards to be transported to the foot of St Peter's Church, this contemporary of so many ages, which have not been able to injure it, inspires us with a sentiment of reverence. Man, who feels his existence so fleeting, is impressed with awe in the presence of whatever is immoveable.'

The following remarks on Pompeii are very striking.

'Pompeii is the most curious ruin of antiquity. At Rome, are

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to be found only the *remains* of public monuments, and they only record the political history of past ages; but, at Pompeii, it is the private life of the ancients which is laid open to our view as it really existed. The volcano, which has overwhelmed that city with ashes, has preserved it from the ravages of time. Buildings exposed to the air could never have remained so complete; but this relic, hidden in the earth, has been recovered entire. The paintings, the statues of bronze, retain their original beauty; and all that served for domestic purposes, remains in a state of awful preservation. The cups are still prepared for the feast of the next day; the flour is ready to be kneaded; the remains of a woman are still adorned by the ornaments she wore on the festival which the volcano has interrupted; and her withered arms no longer fill the bracelets of jewels by which they are still encircled. Nowhere can there be seen such a striking image of the sudden interruption of life. The traces of the wheels are distinctly visible on the pavement of the streets; and the stones which surround the wells, bear the marks of the ropes which have worn them by degrees. There are still to be seen on the walls of a guardhouse the mishapen characters, and the figures, coarsely sketched, which the soldiers drew to pass away the time,—that time which was advancing to swallow them up.'—

'It is with pieces of petrified lava that are built those houses which have been buried by other lavas. Thus, you see ruins upon ruins, tombs upon tombs. This history of the world, in which the epochas are reckoned from destruction to destruction; this life, of which the traces are followed by the gleams of the volcanos which have destroyed it, fills the heart with sadness. For what a length of time has man existed! How long is it since he began to live, to suffer, and to perish! Where are to be found his sentiments and his thoughts?'

We give these passages, not as complete descriptions of the objects they relate to, but as reflections that are natural, though uncommon; and such as will probably strike those who have actually seen these monuments, more than others who have only read of them.

The effects which the sight of ruins and antique monuments produce on the mind, must have been experienced by many, who will be pleased to find them so well expressed in the following passage.

'Oswald ne pouvait se lasser de considérer les traces de l'antique Rome du point élévé du Capitole où Corinne l'avait conduit. La lecture de l'histoire, les réflexions qu'elle excite, agissent bien moins sur notre ame que ces pierres en désordre, que ces ruines mêlées aux habitations nouvelles. Les yeux sont tout-puissans sur l'ame; après avoir vu

les

les ruines Romaines on croit aux antiques Romains, comme si l'on avait vécu de leur temps. Les souvenirs de l'esprit sont acquis par l'étude. Les souvenirs de l'imagination naissent d'une impression plus immédiate et plus intime qui donne de la vie à la pensée, et nous rend, pour ainsi dire, témoins de ce que nous avons appris. Sans doute on est importuné de tous ces bâtimens modernes qui viennent se mêler aux antiques débris. Mais un portique debout à côté d'un humble toit; mais des colonnes entre lesquelles de petites fenêtres d'église sont pratiquées, un tombeau servant d'asile à toute une famille rustique, produisent je ne sais quel mélange d'idées grandes et simples, je ne sais quel plaisir de découverte qui inspire un intérêt continuel. Tout est commun, tout est prosaïque dans l'extérieur de la plupart de nos villes Européennes, et Rome, plus souvent qu'aucune autre, presente le triste aspect de la misère et de la dégradation; mais tout à coup une colonne brisée, une bas-relief à demi detruit, des pierres liées à la façon indestructible des architectes anciens, vous rappellent qu'il y a dans l'homme une puissance éternelle une étincelle divine, et qu'il ne faut pas se lasser de l'exciter en soi même et de la ranimer dans les autres.'

The passage that immediately follows, breathes strongly the spirit of freedom.

'Ce Forum, dont l'enciente est si resserrée, et qui a vu tant de choses étonnantes, est une preuve frappante de la grandeur morale de l'homme. Quand l'univers, dans les derniers temps de Rome, était soumis à des maitres sans gloire, on trouve des siècles entiers dont l'histoire peut a peine conserver quelques faits; et ce Forum, petit espace, centre d'une ville alors très circonscrite, et dont les habitans combattaient autour d'elle pour son territoire, ce Forum n'a-t-il pas occupé, par les souvenirs qu'il retrace, les plus beaux génies de tous les temps? Honneur, donc, éternel honneur, aux peuples courageux et libres, puisqu'ils captivent ainsi les regards de la postérité!' Vol. I. p. 184—186.

Corinna is represented as excelling in the character of an *Improvisatrice*, so peculiar to Italy, and so intimately connected with the flowing and sonorous language of that country. Several specimens of this sort of composition are given in the course of the work; one of the most beautiful, we think, is an effusion that Corinna is supposed to make, sitting on the promontory of MISENUM in a moonlight evening, just after sunset, with the bay of Naples, and all the classical and magnificent scenery that surrounds it, stretched out before her. The subject suggested by her friends was the recollections attached to the objects now in view. Melancholy had then begun to take possession of her thoughts, from the circumstances of her own situation, and this is strongly marked in the whole of her discourse: we give only the end of it, where, after mentioning the names of Cornelia, Portia, Agrippina, who, in circumstances of deep distress, had all passed over the theatre before her, she goes on thus.

'Amour

" Amour, suprême puissance du cœur, mystérieux enthousiasme qui renferme en lui-même la poésie, l'héroïsme, et la religion! qu'arrive-t-il quand la destinée nous sépare de celui qui avait le secret de notre ame et nous avait donné la vie du cœur, la vie céleste? Qu'arrive-t-il quand l'absence ou la mort isolent une femme sur la terre? Elle languit, elle tombe. Combien de fois ces rochers qui nous entourent n'ont-ils pas offert leur froid soutien à ces veuves délaissées qui s'appuyaient jadis sur le sein d'un ami, sur le bras d'un héros!

" Devant vous est sorente; là, demeurait la sœur du Tasse, quand il vint en pélerin demander à cette obscure amie un asile contre l'injustice des princes: ses longues douleurs avaient presque égaré sa raison; il ne lui restait qui la connaissance des choses divines, toutes les images de la terre étaient troublées. Ainsi le talent, épouvanté du désert qui l'environne, parcourt l'univers sans trouver rien qui lui ressemble. La nature pour lui n'a plus d'écho; et le vulgaire prend pour la folie ce malaise d'une ame qui ne respire pas dans ce monde assez d'air, assez d'enthousiasme, assez d'espoir."—

" Sublime Créateur de cette belle nature, protége-nous! Nos elans sont sans force, nos espérances mensongères. Les passions exercent en nous une tyrannie tumultueuse, qui ne nous laisse ni liberté ni repos. Peut-être ce que nous ferons demain décidera-t-il de notre sort; peut-être hier avons nous dit un mot que rien ne peut racheter. Quand notre esprit s' élève, aux plus hautes pensées, nous sentons, comme au sommet des édifices élevés, un vertige qui confond tous les objets à nos regards; mais alors même la douleur, la terrible douleur, ne se perd point dans les nuages, elle les sillonne, elle les entr'ouvre. O mon Dieu, que veut-elle nous annoncer? . . ." Vol. II. 336—339.

It is remarked, that the Neapolitans were surprised with the melancholy strain of this song; they admired the harmony and beauty of the poetry, but they wished that the verses had been inspired by a disposition less sad. The English, on the other hand, who were present and heard Corinna, were filled with unmixt admiration.

Madame de Staël, as appears from almost every part of this work, has studied with great care the character and manners of the English. She has done so also with singular success; and, though all her notions may not be perfectly correct, we believe that hardly any foreigner, who has not resided long in England, ever approached so near to the truth. The residence of Corinna, at her father's house in Northumberland, affords an opportunity of entering into the *minutiæ* of some parts of English manners. The representation of them is not very favourable: the long dinners—the free use of the bottle—the almost total separation of the male from the female part of the society, that is the necessary consequence—the dullness of the latter during the long interval from dinner to tea,—all these are noted with considerable

able truth, though, perhaps, with a little of that involuntary exaggeration that mere contrast can hardly fail to produce. The coldness of manner in the English ladies, their reserve and want of animation, are painted too harshly, even though a large share of understanding and accomplishment is allowed them. Mad. de Staël at the same time entertains a high opinion of the men, and is aware of the superiority that they derive from having some object in active life, and some concern in the government of their country. In what respects conversation, however, and cultivation of mind, we must be permitted to say, that we believe the women are often superior to the men. The very circumstance of not being destined for active or public life, renders their conversation more intellectual, more connected with general principles, and more allied to philosophic speculation. Their taste also, is often more cultivated; and we have known instances, where the daughters of a family could relish the beauties of Racine and Metastasio, while the sons could not converse on any thing but hunting, horse-racing, or those methods of *training*, by which the talents of men and of horses are brought as near as possible to an equality.

During the residence of Corinna in Northumberland, though her mind revolted against the formal rules of the dull and common place people that surrounded her, yet she found herself gradually subdued by them, and insensibly tied down by their opinions, as Gulliver was by the threads of the Lilliputians. 'It is in vain,' says she, 'that you say this man is not a proper judge of *me*; that woman has no comprehension of what I am about.—The human countenance ever exercises a great power over the human heart; and when you read on the faces of those around you, a disapprobation of your conduct, it disquiets you in spite of yourself. The circle you live in always comes to conceal from you the rest of the world; the smallest atom, placed near the eye, hides from it the body of the sun; and it is the same with the little *coterie* in which you live. Neither the voice of Europe nor of posterity, can make you insensible to the noise of your neighbour's family; and therefore, whoever would live happily, and give scope to his genius, must first of all choose carefully the atmosphere with which he is to be immediately surrounded.' (Vol. II. p. 377.) These reflections are very just; but one who would apply them to his own case, must be careful not to mistake the suggestions of levity and caprice for the inspiration of genius and talent; for the same power which adjusts all to the mediocrity of the vulgar, and which may so unhappily fetter the two latter, often furnishes a salutary restraint to the two former. Much is said through the whole book, of the effect of climate; and the

sun of Italy is never mentioned but with an enthusiasm that we believe arises from the author having really felt all that she describes. We are persuaded, however, that she has ascribed too much to physical causes, and that she does not sufficiently allow for the circumstances, moral and political, by which they are often overruled. The climate of Italy is not probably very different now from what it was in ancient times; and yet what a difference between the ancient Romans and the modern Italians! We are persuaded we shall not, even by Mad. de Staël, be accused of any immoderate partiality in favour of our countrymen, when we say that an Englishman bears a much greater resemblance to a Roman, than an Italian of the present day. Here, therefore, the possession of liberty and laws, and, above all, the superiority which a man derives from having a share in the government of his country, has, in opposition to climate and situation, produced a greater resemblance of character, than the latter was able to do, when counteracted by the former.

On the whole, notwithstanding some such imperfections as we have now pointed out; notwithstanding also, that in the analysis of feeling which is usually managed with great skill, some fanciful reflections now and then occur,—some false refinements, and some sentiments brought from too great a distance,—we can have no hesitation to say, that those blemishes are very inconsiderable, compared with the general execution of the work—with the imagination, the feeling, and the eloquence displayed in it.

Some of the writings of Madame de Staël have been censured, though perhaps without due consideration, as having an immoral tendency. This, we think, cannot, on any pretence, be alleged of the work before us: From the history and fate of the amiable and accomplished Corinna, the reader may learn to watch over a passion, which, if left to itself, may become one of the worst distempers of the mind, blasting and consuming even the noblest faculties. One may learn, too, the necessity of conforming to those rules that restrain the intercourse of the sexes, and that are not to be rashly dispensed with, even where no immediate danger is apprehended.

The example of Lord Nelvil is calculated to show the danger of irresolution, especially when the interest of another is concerned; and to remind us, that a man, by the fear of doing what is not perfectly correct, may be led, if he is not on his guard, to the commission of what is highly criminal. The fear of impropriety might have been consulted, when the mutual attachment of Corinna and himself was in its commencement; but it was mere selfishness and want of feeling to be afterwards guided by such a fear, in opposition to the best sentiments of the heart, and

and one of the greatest and most imperious of all moral obligations.

ART. XIII. *The Code of Health and Longevity; or, a Concise View of the Principles calculated for the Preservation of Health, and the Attainment of Long Life: Being an Attempt to prove the Practicability of condensing, within a narrow Compass, the most material Information hitherto accumulated, regarding the different Arts and Sciences, or any particular branch thereof.* By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. 8vo. 4 vol. Constable & Co. Edinburgh. Cadell & Davies, and J. Murray, London. 1807.

WE have studied this long title-page with great diligence, without being able to make even a probable conjecture as to the meaning of the greater part of it; and indeed have received no distinct impression from it whatever, except that it is a very improper title to stand at the head of four goodly octavo volumes, each containing about 800 pages of very close printing, It would require a greater share of health and longevity than we can presume to reckon on, to carry us fairly through every part of their contents; but from what we have been able to examine, as well as from a distant view of the remainder, we think ourselves justified in saying, that this *concise view* of the principles of health and longevity,—this proof of the practicability of condensing *within a narrow compass* the essence of the arts and sciences, is the most diffuse, clumsy, and unsatisfactory compilation that has ever fallen under our notice.

The first volume consists of a vast indigested and injudicious abstract of all that the author had been able to find written upon the subject of which he was to treat; in which no attempt is made to separate truth from falsehood, to reconcile contradictions, or even to distinguish what is profound or important, from what is most trivial and obvious. The book, therefore, is chiefly occupied with rules and statements, which are perfectly familiar, not only to every individual who has had occasion but once in his life to consult an apothecary, but to every one almost who has merely existed about twelve or fifteen years in this great lazar-house of a world. If we add to this, the blundering indistinctness of the worthy baronet's divisions,—the incredible credulity manifested in many of his statements,—the masses of mawkish morality with which the whole olio is seasoned,—the marvellous ignorance that is occasionally betrayed on the subjects which lay properly in his way, and the still more insufferable display of superficial

perficial learning on others to which he chooses to digress,—we shall have a pretty accurate conception of the value of this last great digest of 'the *Macrobiotic art*.' The other three volumes consist of choice extracts from the books which the author had read, and the communications which he had received. They are the raw materials in short, out of which the first volume has been manufactured; and his conduct in reprinting them at large, as a sequel to it, resembles that of a man who should first cloy his guests with bad soups, jellies, and conserves, and then insist on cramming down their throats the bones, husks and egg shells out of which his banquet had been extracted. Such however is the worthy author's own opinion of the value and importance of this publication, that he modestly proposes in the preface, 'that it should be translated into the principal languages of the Continent, circulated among the learned in all quarters of the world, and premiums given (by government we suppose) to those who transmitted the best observations upon it;' and afterwards asserts, without any hesitation, that any person who will carefully peruse and apply the maxims contained in it, 'can *hardly fail* to add from ten to twenty, or even thirty years, to his comfortable existence.'—After all this, his readers may not perhaps be very much surprised to find him anticipating his own apotheosis: and informing them, in the motto on his title-page, that it is impossible for any mortal to approach nearer to a Divinity. * Though our estimate of the work is certainly a great deal more moderate, yet, the very magnitude of these pretensions imposes upon us the necessity of giving a pretty full account of it.

After a pretty long introduction, in which we are carefully informed that the worthy author was born in the year 1754, and, about five or six years ago, fell into a state of weakness, which made him incapable of prosecuting useful inquiries, or applying his mind to political pursuits with his former energy, we have a short view of the plan of the work; in the first part of which, he proposes to treat of 'the circumstances which necessarily tend to promote health and longevity, *independent* of individual attention, or the observance of particular rules;' and, in the second, to deliver those rules by which these great ends are to be attained.

The learned author is resolved to begin at the beginning; and accordingly in his two first sections, he treats 'of the structure of the human body,' and 'of its tendency to decay and perish.' In the former, he is kind enough to present us with a definition of

* Neque enim ulla alia re homines propius ad Deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando.

of man, in which, however, the mind makes a much greater figure than the body. It is as follows:

'Man may be defined, "a being in whom reason or spirit, and body or matter, are united, and whose existence depends upon that union; for the individual who loses his reason, unless preserved by the care of others from destruction, would soon perish."

'As, without the possession and the exercise of reason, man could not exist for any space of time, it is necessary that the mind, and the reasoning and other faculties connected therewith, should be furnished with a proper place of residence; accordingly, she is provided with the brain, where she dwells as governor or superintendant of the whole fabric.' I. p. 28. 29.

In the second section, he undertakes to prove, that all men must die; and that not only by the vulgar argument derived from experience, but by a learned investigation of the changes which time necessarily makes on his structure. We do not very clearly see the force of the latter mode of reasoning; but we are of opinion, notwithstanding, that he has made out the main fact of our mortality in a very satisfactory manner.

The first of the circumstances, independent of individual attention, by which health is likely to be influenced, according to our author, is 'Parentage;' and the sum of his doctrine, on this subject, is, that healthy and long-lived parents are likely to have healthy and long-lived children; but that this is not a necessary or uniform consequence. By far the most interesting part of the chapter, however, is an original theory of Sir John's own, that a man generally takes his bodily form from his father, and his talents and disposition from his mother. In confirmation of this pleasant hypothesis, we are then informed, that the abilities and eloquence of Lord Chatham and Mr Pitt, *was* owing (so Sir John writes) to a fortunate connection which one of their ancestors had made with a Miss Innes of Redhall, in the Highlands of Scotland!—and that the talents of the Dundases, in like manner, were also derived from the marriage of one of their progenitors to a Miss SINCLAIR of this kingdom!—Our national partialities disposed us very strongly to receive this intellectual genealogy; but, unfortunately, its authenticity is completely disproved by the very theory in support of which it is referred to. If the talents come always through the mother, we are really at a loss to conceive how the genius of the Inneses—or even of the Sinclairs—could possibly be of any benefit, except to those who were immediately sprung from these accomplished females; and as this happy inoculation took place long ago, it seems difficult to imagine, that either Lord Chatham or Mr Pitt, whose mothers were unquestionably degenerate English, could derive any advantage from it.

The next requisite to health and long life, according to our author, is 'Perfect Birth;' by which he means, birth after a full period of gestation. It is perfectly obvious, however, that cases of premature birth are so rare, comparatively, that no sound conclusion can be formed upon the subject; and Sir John himself mentions one instance of a man upwards of 100 years of age, who was born in the seventh month.

The third point is 'Gradual Growth;' under which title we find nothing in the least interesting, except a curious trait of the author's credulity in reporting a vulgar story of Bishop Berkeley having, by some peculiar systematic process, made a poor orphan boy grow to the height of seven feet before he was sixteen years of age; in consequence of which preternatural elongation, he became stupid, and died of old age at twenty!

We have next a dissertation on different constitutions and formations;—the issue of which is, that men perfectly well formed and of a middle size, are likely to be most healthy; with other truisms of equal importance. He then observes, that women have, upon the whole, a better chance of long life than men; though he declines determining whether this be owing to any generic superiority in their constitution, or to their being less exposed to accidents and intemperance. The last of the circumstances tending to prevent longevity is, we are told, 'the renovation of the distinctions of youth,' by getting new hair, teeth, &c. in advanced life. It affords a singular view of the author's notions of classification, to find this enumerated among the circumstances by which longevity is *promoted*. It cannot even be very well said to be *indicated* by it; as, in most of the instances specified, those renovations took place but a very few years before the death of the individual.

Our ambitious author proceeds next to consider what qualities of *Mind* are most favourable to health. It must have given him some alarm to find, that men of great talents do not in general live long. Violent passions, too, we are told, or bad temper, are unfavourable to long life; except in the case of fat persons, who it seems receive much benefit from peevishness and anger.

After this, there follows a long chapter on the effects of Climate and Situation, containing exhortations to fly from large towns, and directions where to build villas; all which, with our author's usual accuracy, are classed under the head of circumstances independent of individual choice or exertion. The sum and substance of the inquiry, is a series of familiar and most obvious truths;—that extremes of heat and cold are unhealthy, but of the former the most so;—that the neighbourhood of the sea, and of running waters, is salubrious;—that trees are useful for

for shelter, but that too many of them choke up the air;—that it is desireable to be near good water and fuel;—and that towns are not so healthful as the country. The only thing the least interesting is, that the natives of cold countries are longer lived than those of hot, even where the latter are perfectly healthy; and that small islands, and lofty situations, are, of all other situations, the most favourable to long life. There must be many exceptions, however, to the first rule, if what is stated in this book as to the common longevity of the natives of Bermudas, Barbadoes and Madeira, be true; nor can the second be received implicitly, when we reflect on the miserable insalubrity of most of the West India islands.

The fourth chapter treats of miscellaneous circumstances tending to promote longevity, independent of the choice or attention of the individual. Among these, we were rather surprised to find his ordinary occupation enumerated, and, still more, his connubial connexion; for which classification, however, this pious and satisfactory reason is assigned by the worthy author, viz. 'that it is generally sanctioned by the approbation of his parents, and ought always to be so, if they are in life!' The first of these miscellaneous circumstances, is rank and situation in life; on occasion of which, Sir John observes, with great truth and originality, that the rich frequently injure their health by eating and drinking too luxuriously, and by keeping their houses and persons too warm. With his usual accuracy and regard to consistency, he then tells a story of an Irish doctor who lived for fifty years without having had a death in a numerous family, in consequence of having no glass in his windows, and encouraging a perpetual whirlwind in his mansion; while, but a few pages before, he commemorates, with much approbation, the equally successful practice of another doctor, who lived to a hundred, by sleeping under eight blankets, and constantly inhabiting a stove room heated up to 70 degrees of Fahrenheit.

The next miscellaneous circumstance connected with health, is Education, upon which Sir John, after boasting of having more children 'than usually fall to the lot of *literary* men,' is obliging enough to present his readers with a short dissertation. In the course of this we meet with a variety of original and learned remarks; such as, that the first food of children should be milk; and that 'Camper agrees with *Plato* in preferring for the children of the rich—roasted meat to boiled.' We are likewise informed, that good air and regular exercise are advantageous; and that 'Aristotle well observes, that an elegant person is preferable to many letters of recommendation.' All this we readily subscribe to; but when the learned author proceeds to observe that 'Swift recommends running up and down stairs as an ex-

cellent exercise; and that he would have found it both amusing and wholesome, if he had had a number of fine children to have joined in the recreation;' we cannot help suspecting, that his partiality to classical authorities has imposed in some measure on his usual prudence and caution. We really can scarcely conceive a more hazardous and inconvenient plan of exercise, for a crowd of heedless children, than a steep stair-case; whether they run up and down after their papa, or each other.

The following section is on the comparative healthiness of different occupations. Husbandmen are supposed the most healthy; and soldiers and sailors next. Learned persons do not in general, live long. Inhabitants of cities are most remarkably shorter lived than those who reside in the country; and unmarried persons than those who have entered into matrimony. The first part ends with some remarks on the miseries of extreme old age, and the advantages of a timely death. In three several places, the worthy author informs us, with the most laudable gravity, that the air of a certain valley in Norway is so *excessively* salubrious, that the inhabitants frequently live much longer than they wish, and get themselves removed to less blessed situations, that they may have the comfort of dying the sooner!

The second part, which alone can constitute the Code of Health and Longevity, professes to comprehend all the rules by which these great ends may be attained; and accordingly, sets out with a long dissertation on the benefit which may be expected from the observance of such rules.

The first topic which is regularly discussed, is that of Air. And here, the redundant learning of the worthy author overflows in a sort of bad lecture on the composition of the atmosphere, extended through little less than thirty of his massive pages. We are here presented with an account of its chemical composition and various properties, and with numerous tables, showing the relative proportions of its ingredients, with the derivation of their modern names,—its volume in square inches, and its weight in pounds avoirdupois; the knowledge of all which must obviously be of singular benefit to the invalid, who opens the book in search of directions for the restoration of his health. We cannot even compliment Sir John Sinclair upon the accuracy of this misplaced philosophy. He tells us, indeed, with great truth, that 'a fluid easily divisible, and liable to *perpetual agitations*, must be *constantly in motion*;' but his doctrines are rather more questionable, when he assures us that it is owing to the *elasticity* of air that it is enabled to descend to the bottom of mines and coal-pits, and that it is by means of its *fluidity* that it is the medium of sound. It is evidently in consequence of its pressure or *gravitation*, that it descends; and of its *elasticity*, that it transmits

mits the vibration of sounds. Sir John also thinks it necessary to announce, that men breathe when they are asleep, as well as when they are awake; and, to confirm his assertion, that they require a certain supply of fresh air, by the story of the Blackhole at Calcutta, and other anecdotes equally interesting and original. We are then told, that air may be too hot, or too cold,—too moist or too dry, too light or too heavy; and that we should do the best we can to counteract the bad effects of these extremes, by the construction of our houses and cloathing, and the regulation of our diet and exercise. In temperate climates, we are admonished to be very much in the open air; and the following interesting story is told in illustration of this precept,—which we gladly insert as a specimen of the vigour and vivacity which characterize the whole performance.

'The advantages of fresh air are happily exemplified by the following anecdote, related by a physician, of two sisters, whose system in that respect happened to be different. The elder, Maria, was fond of reading or needle-work, and in general of every thing that suited a sedentary life. She was weak; her nerves were very irritable; and every change of weather affected her. She was perpetually obliged to have recourse to medicines, which being good of their kind, would undoubtedly have had the desired effect in strengthening her constitution, had they been properly assisted by moderate and gentle exercise. But Miss Maria was always at home, always in the hands of a physician and apothecary, and always ailing.

'Her sister Jane, on the other hand, was a very lively girl, and naturally possessed of good sense. She did not neglect to apply to her works and studies at proper times; but she had made it a rule to walk out whenever the weather permitted. Bad weather had seldom any other effect upon her, than to deprive her of her usual exercise. By these means she enjoyed an excellent state of health; and, whenever she happened to have any complaint, her physician had the satisfaction never to be disappointed in the effects of his medicines.' I. 223.

After about an hundred pages on air, we come next to Food; and first of all to liquid food, and to a preliminary dissertation on the necessity of such aliment. There are ten sections to prove that men are the better of occasionally swallowing fluids; we content ourselves with quoting the last.

'When the body is exhausted, how refreshing is a single draught of a wholesome beverage! when the mind is borne down with care, how rapidly is it exhilarated by a cheerful glass! and when the whole frame is likely to sink under the pressure of disease, there is no medicine so likely, in certain cases, to restore it to its former health and strength, as the genuine juice of the grape.' I. 237.

We now get on to the enumeration of the different kinds of fluids which are used for drinking; and find that the first division comprises the simple fluids of Water and Milk; and that neither

ther of these fluids is simple. The chapter on Water is very long; and the signs of good water are detailed with much diligence. One of its characteristics, it seems, is to be *saponaceous*; and another is, that 'a few drops of it let fall on *good copper* will occasion no spot thereon.' Rain-water, snow-water, hail-water, and ice-water, are then criticised and compared. Sir John is not of opinion that the swellings of the neck which annoy the inhabitants of the Alps, are occasioned by the use of snow-water; and observes, with more pertinency than is very usual with him, that the very same disease is prevalent in Sumatra, where ice and snow are never seen; and that it is wholly unknown in Chili or Thibet, although the rivers of those countries are chiefly supported by the melting of the mountain snow. It ought to have been mentioned, on the other hand, that Captain Cook found several of his people affected with those swellings, after having been confined for some time to the use of water formed from the dissolution of ice taken from the middle of the ocean.

The following suggestions seem to be of substantial utility; and we feel it to be a duty, therefore, to do every thing in our power to make them more generally known.

'There is an excellent mode of preserving water, and by which it is filtrated at the same time, adopted at Paris. The water is put in what is called a *fountain*, which is a large and strong earthen jar, about four feet in height, placed on a wooden pedestal. At the bottom there is gravel to the height of six or eight inches, which should be cleared once a year. The fountain may be had for a louis d'or; and the waterman receives a trifle for filling it twice a week, which is sufficient for the generality of families. The water, thus filtrated through the gravel, becomes as pure as chrystal, and is drawn by a cock, at the bottom of the fountain. As the water of the Seine is rarely pure, and in a dry summer even noxious, such a machine is very convenient, and even indispensable. It is not liable to the many accidents, and constant wear, of our filtering stones, nor does it require the attention of those with charcoal, recently invented at Paris. It certainly would be of the highest importance, to have so simple, but so useful an article, introduced into this country.' I. 253, 254.

The same contrivance on a larger scale, and adapted for the use of a community, is described in the following account of the process for purifying the water of a small river near Paisley, which we know to have been attended with the most complete success.

'A well, about 25 yards from the river, and sunk below the level of its bed, receives its water by a covered cut. This cut is about eight feet wide, and four deep; it is filled with chipped freestone, which are broke smaller as it approaches the well. To prevent the intermingling of the earth, they are covered with Russia mats, over which the ground is levelled. A great deal of the filtering is effected by this first and simple operation. Over the well is a small steam-engine, which raises the

the water to an air-chest, whence it is forced to the external trench of the bason,' higher than the engine, and distant perhaps 60 or 70 yards. The air-chest may be about 16 feet above the river. The communication from it to the trench, is by a wooden pipe of Scots fir, of three inches bore. From the trench the water filters into the bason. The bason is a circle of about 23½ feet diameter, and 10 deep, sunk perhaps about two feet below the level of the ground; its bottom of puddled earth; its side, a wall of freestone, neatly jointed, but laid without cement. It is surrounded by a bed of sand, or very fine gravel, about six feet wide, the same depth with the bason, and retained by a wall of freestone ruble without cement, and like the former, about a foot thick. A second bed of gravel surrounds this wall of the same width and depth as the other, but the gravel coarser, and retained by a similar wall to the former. The water-trench succeeds: about six feet wide, of the same depth with the bason; the bottom of puddled earth, as are the bottoms of the sand beds. The outer wall of the trench is double; the interior one hewn stone joined; the exterior, thick whinstone. A space of about 16 inches between them is rammed with clay or puddled earth; a coping of hewn stone covers both in; the outside is faced with earth and turf, and gradually sloped to the level of the surrounding ground. All the stone employed in the first communication from the river, and in the walls, is carefully picked from quarries perfectly free from any metallic tinge. From the bason, a pipe is carried below the sand beds, to a distance of perhaps a furlong, to where a declivity in the ground gives opportunity to drive a cart below the mouth of the pipe, where a large cask, placed upon it, is commodiously and expeditiously filled.' Vol I. p. 260, 261.

The chapter ends with an account of the exaggerated and absurd assertions of a certain set of physicians, who maintained that water was the panacea for all diseases; and of the controversy which they maintained with a more jolly set, who asserted the superior virtue and salubrity of wine.

The chapter on Milk is also very diffuse; and we are minutely informed, that it may be eaten raw—boiled—sour; as cream—as butter—as whey— and *in punch*. Nay, the worthy Baronet actually condescends to insert into his text a particular recipe for the preparation of that luxurious beverage, known by the name of milk punch. The general directions for the use of this article are perfectly obvious and familiar.

We proceed next to fluids compounded with water, and not fermented; under which the learned author treats at great length of gruel, toast and water, teas, coffee, chocolate, and soups. The dissertation on tea is full of all manner of common-places, and is incredibly tedious. The arguments for and against the use of this favourite beverage are stated at great length, and the balance held by so very impartial a hand, that it is not easy to say on which side the author understands it to preponderate. If people will drink

drink tea, however, he informs us that it should not be green, but black tea; that it should be mixed with much cream and sugar, and only taken along with solid aliments. We do not know on what authority he asserts, that the practice in the east is to *boil* at once the quantity of tea to be used, and thus, to speak learnedly, to employ the decoction instead of the infusion. Whatever the authority be, however, we should be disposed to reject it, on the faith of the celebrated ode or recipe of the great Chinese emperor Kien Long, who must certainly be admitted to be a judge without appeal in a question of this nature, and who, we recollect, is so far from recommending boiling the leaves, that he will only allow them to be infused for a very few minutes in an open cup. Barrow, too, assures us, that this is the universal mode of preparing tea, at least among the opulent part of the Chinese community.

The author gets at last to 'fermented liquors,' and favours us with the analysis of Wine from Thomson's chemistry. We have then a tiresome array of the arguments for and against the use of wine, drawn up in the most tame, vulgar, and childish language. We give the following as a fair specimen of this tritical essay.

'It is also said, that not only physicians, but that many philosophers, have recommended the use of wine as a preservative against chagrin, and as a salutary remedy in disease. Seneca informs us, that Solon and Cato sometimes cheered themselves with wine; a glass of which they considered as tending to produce strength, and as a remedy against many disorders, as well as an antidote to grief. Plato, though severe against the use of wine for the young, yet permitted men of forty years of age to drink it with moderation, and even invites them to take a cheerful glass.

'The first effects of wine, we are told, are an inexpressible tranquillity of mind, and liveliness of countenance; the powers of imagination become more vivid, and the flow of spirits more spontaneous and easy, giving birth to wit and humour without hesitation. *Dissipat ebrius curas edaces.* All anxieties of business, that require thought and attention, are laid aside; and every painful affection of the soul is relieved or alleviated.

'Invigorated with wine, the infirm man becomes strong, and the timid courageous. The desponding lover forsakes his solitude and silent shades, and in a cup of *Falernian*, forgets the frowns and indifference of an unkind mistress. Even the trembling hypochondriac, unmindful of his fears and ominous dreams, sports and capers like a person in health. Regaled with the pleasures of the board, the soldier no longer complains of the hardships of a campaign, or the mariner of the dangers of the storm.' I. p. 311.

He ends with recommending temperance, and with Professor Hahnemann's test for thedetection of deleterioussubstances inwine. After this he condescends to describe the process for making negus and

and cup; and passing rapidly over Cyder and Perry, comes to malt liquor, the subject of which he introduces with the following learned paragraph.

'We are informed, that in very early periods of history, the art of making a fermented liquor from barley was discovered by the Egyptians, which was anciently called barley wine, (*vinum hordeaceum*), and was afterwards known under the name of northern wine, (*vinum regionum septentrionalium*), being principally used in northern countries; (indeed, in hot countries, or in very warm weather, it can hardly be made at all); and by some it has been called the strength of corn, or *liquid bread*.'—I. p. 326.

We are then presented with a long enumeration of contradictory opinions and affirmations on the subject of Ale, which the worthy author endeavours to reconcile, by the good wholesome recommendation of moderation in the use of it; and by observing, that most of the objections seem rather to be levelled against the abuse, than the use of that article. He is also pleased to inform us, that 'ale is said to be derived from *alo*, to nourish;' that it is good for women giving suck; and that 'new ale is most nutritive; *whence* tipplers may be said, with Boniface, to eat as well as to drink their ale;' though we really do not perceive very clearly the grounds of that facetious induction.

Spirituous liquors are treated, on the whole, with great indulgence; and are even recommended, in small quantities, when the body has been exposed to wet or fatigue. Of punch we are told, that it is 'a mixture of substances very opposite in their nature, being strong and weak,—sweet and sour!'—and that the author's correspondents in Glasgow make rather a favourable report as to its salubrity. Before closing the chapter of intoxicating fluids, we have, as might have been expected, some moral reflections on the effects of intemperance. We prefer, on the whole, the following observations on the feats of a noted toper, by name Mr Vanborn, of whom we are informed—

'In the space of three and twenty years, it is computed, that he drank, in all, thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-eight bottles, or fifty-nine pipes of red port. It does not appear, that Mr Vanborn found this regimen favourable to longevity; indeed it is more than probable, that it cut him off before he had lived half a century. It is incredible what pleasure any individual can feel in such abundant potations, in the course of which, he resembles more a cellar than a man; for there are many cellars that never contained what this man's stomach must have done, namely, fifty-nine pipes of port wine'. I. p. 356.

There is something peculiarly ingenious, though rather severe, in the comparison of Mr Vanborn's stomach to a cellar; though, as he rarely exceeded four bottles at a time, it is rather hard on the honest gentleman, to say that his stomach ever actually contained fifty-nine

fifty-nine pipes of port. Sir John, however, is for all sorts of sobriety; he is of opinion, that we should rise from the table with the desert,—but allows us to drink a little more in winter than in summer, and in advanced life than in youth.

After this come 150 pages on 'Solid Food,' divided into eight long sections, the first being dedicated to point out 'the uses of solid food, and the necessity thereof;' or, in other words, to prove that man could not subsist without eating. We do not think it necessary to make any abstract of the learned arguments by which Sir John has incontrovertibly established this important fact. We cannot say, however, that he has been altogether so successful in his attempt at medical lexicography; for, of the ten technical words of which he has been pleased to prefix an explanation to this chapter, he has mistaken the meaning of at least three. *Acescent* is not sourish, but having a tendency to become sour;—*Alkalescent*, in like manner, is that which has a tendency to become alkaline—not putrid, as Sir John has it;—and *Esculent* does not mean nourishing, but eatable.

His first division is of Vegetable food; under which he treats of fruits, nuts, pulses, grains, roots, salads, &c.; and delivers nothing that we can discover but the most common and obvious maxims. In treating of salads, however, he informs us, that 'there are instances of persons living only upon *grass* and *hay*;' and quotes, in confirmation of this assertion, the 4th chapter and 32d verse of the prophet Daniel! We really did not expect to find the diet of poor Nebuchadnezzer commemorated in a modern treatise on vegetable food; but we cannot help admiring the accuracy with which the learned President of the Board of Agriculture speaks upon this interesting subject. The prophet says only, that the humbled monarch ate grass like an ox; but Sir John is too learned in the feeding of cattle, to let this pass uncorrected; he therefore makes the addition of *hay* also; taking it for granted, no doubt, that his Babylonish Majesty grazed only during the summer season, but was stalled and fed with good dry hay in the winter.

We get next to Animal food; beginning with quadrupeds. He puzzles sadly about beef and veal;—first, beef is easily digested by persons in health;—then veal is not so easily digested, nor so fit for weak stomachs as is commonly imagined;—then, when properly roasted, it is not so heavy as beef, and ought to be given to the sedentary and delicate;—it is afterwards added, that the flesh of oxen is more digestible the younger it is;—and, finally, it is solemnly declared, that beef is easier of digestion than veal! This, it must be owned, is not altogether so distinct or consistent as might be wished; but, to make amends, we are told that

'pork

' pork is savoury food; and, as this animal is of no use to man when alive, it is therefore properly designed for food; and, besides, from its loathsome appearance, it is killed without reluctance!' Of birds, we are informed, that 'the flesh is particularly calculated for persons in the studious professions, as the blood produced therefrom is *clear, light*, and full of *spirits*, and peculiarly favourable to exercises of the mind.' And then we are told of pigeons, that 'if any person were to live on them for sixty days, a fever would probably be the consequence!' Of fish he eloquently observes, that 'it makes an excellent addition to vegetable food; for instance, with potatoes or other roots, what can be more acceptable than a salted or smoked herring, to give a relish for such insipid diet?' We have afterwards the following profound and important remarks.

'Fish is much improved by the addition of butter. Indeed, the use of butter sauce seems to be a rule followed from some instigation of instinct, rather than a precept of reason, as it has not yet been fully accounted for. The use of butter, at the same time, must make the fish heavier; and hence those disagreeable consequences arise, which render drams necessary, the fault of which is occasioned by the sauce, though the innocent fish are blamed for it. Fish and milk are not proper together: nor are eggs to be used, unless with salt fish.' I. p 411.

The enumeration of esculent animals is closed with a long comparison between animal and vegetable diet, which results in this most impartial and conciliatory decision, 'that a mixture of both is the proper plan to pursue.'

The worthy author's philanthropy is not satisfied with directing us as to the kind of food we should eat, or order in general; but he dedicates two long sections to our instruction in the arts of Preserving and of Cooking it. The first is set about in a most orderly and scientific manner. After observing that wild and hungry men would probably eat their meat as they found it, he proceeds, with becoming solemnity, to trace the steps by which more provident and elegant practices would be introduced.

'Men, however, would soon become desirous, not only to preserve food for a few days, and to render it more palatable, but would also see the necessity of laying up, while they had it in their power, a store of provision for future use, in order to prevent any risk of scarcity or famine. The various arts which have been discovered for that purpose, may be classed under the following general heads. 1. Drying in the sun. 2. Artificial heat. 3. Salting. 4. Pickling. 5. By butter. 6. By sugar. 7. By ice. 8 By charcoal.' I. p 431, 432.

Each of these articles is gone over at great length; and, in the end, we come to Cookery. This valuable section begins with telling us, that 'the primeval inhabitants of the earth certainly ate their meat raw;' and also 'that raw flesh produces great bodily

bodily vigour, ferocity of mind, and *love of liberty!* We have then an accurate description—for it is in general nothing more—of the several ingenious processes of roasting, boiling, stewing, broiling, frying, baking, and digesting. There is then a sort of appendix subjoined upon bread making, in which the author displays his usual learning and accuracy, in stating that *bread* may occasionally be made of dried *fish* and *flesh!* as well as of grain. Wheaten bread, which he admits however to be the best, is also most philosophically divided into 'fine bread, coarse bread,—and *rolls!*' Fermented bread, he thinks less wholesome than what is unleavened; we suspect, quite erroneously. The section ends with instructions for boiling potatoes.

The next section is 'of Condiments;' and contains a description of salt, sugar, vinegar, and other unknown substances. This is followed up by a learned chapter on the number and succession of our Meals. The result, in Sir John's own words, is the following general order.

'In summer, rise about seven; breakfast about nine; take a little fruit, a crust of bread, or a biscuit, about one; dine between four and five, so as to take some exercise in the cool of the evening; take tea or coffee, as is found most agreeable to the constitution, between eight and nine, and, if any supper, strawberries, or any cooling fruit. Go to bed about eleven.

'In winter, rise about eight; breakfast about ten; *take a slight repast* about two; finish all the business of the day, and take a substantial dinner between six and seven; take tea or coffee about nine; no supper. Go to bed between eleven and twelve.' I. 483.

The quantities for sedentary people, but to be a little enlarged for the laborious, are as follows.

'For breakfast, four ounces of bread and eight of tea or some other liquid; for dinner, four ounces of bread, eight of meat, eight of water, and twelve of wine, or some generous liquor; and for supper, eight ounces of liquid food, making in all three pounds four ounces.' I. 486.

The allowance of wine, we think, bears a most intemperate proportion to that of water or weaker fluids.

After a tedious variety of general rules, the substance of which seems to be, that our food should be gradually made more nutritive as we advance in life, and that substances hard of digestion are most proper for those who are condemned to hard labour, we get forward to a most erudite chapter on 'Digestion and the effects thereof.' It sets out with the following profound and philosophical observation.

'When one considers the immense quantity of liquid and of solid food, consumed by an individual in the space of a single year, and still more so, during the course of a long life, it is natural to inquire, what purposes can such a variety of articles answer, and what ultimately becomes

comes of them? In the course of a few years, the produce of several acres of land, the weight of a number of large oxen, and the contents of many tons of liquor, are consumed by one individual; whilst he continues nearly the same, whether he drinks the pure stream, or the beverage the most skilfully compounded; whether he feeds on a variety of articles produced from the animal and vegetable kingdom, or confines himself to one particular substance; and, whether his food is prepared in the plainest and simplest manner, or by the most refined and artificial modes that luxury has hitherto invented. All these circumstances depend upon the process called *digestion*; the nature and effects of which we shall now endeavour briefly to explain.' I. 511.

We have then a learned and very tedious account of the process of chylification, absorption, assimilation, excretion, &c. &c. with many sage directions about aperient, diuretic, and diaphoretic medicines, the detail of which we dare not venture to lay before our readers. We may safely refer them, however, to the worthy Baronet's encomium on the Stomach; which he lovingly qualifies by the name of 'the father of the family,' and further exalts, by retailing the ancient fable about the unfortunate dissension between it and the other members. Nay, he carries his affection for this useful organ so far, as actually to think it necessary to make an apology for its want of external beauty.

'The stomach,' he candidly observes, 'is far from recommending itself by any elegance of appearance; on the contrary, it is generally considered an unsightly membranous pouch; but the delicacy of its texture, the consideration of its extraordinary powers, and the importance of its functions to the health and existence of the human frame, must create a salutary reluctance to hazard any practice by which it can be injured.' I. 515.

We now advance to the chapter of Exercise, which fills about 150 pages. It sets out with an elaborate account of the uses of labour, and a learned deduction of the origin of that voluntary labour which is properly called exercise. The subject is then opened in this solemn and methodical manner:

'Exercises are usually divided into three sorts, the active, the passive, and the mixed; but it seems to me, that this important subject may be treated of in a more satisfactory manner, by dividing exercise into four branches. 1. The youthful. 2. The manly. 3. The gymnastic. and, 4. The healthful and amusing. Under one or other of these general heads, every species of exercise may be included.' I. 584.

Youthful exercises are then marshalled in a still more formidable array, as follows.

'We shall now proceed to consider the various sorts of youthful exercises, under the following heads. 1. Infantine or childish exercises. 2. Hopping. 3. Jumping. 4 Running. 5. Hooping 6. Throwing. 7. Lifting and carrying. 8. Balancing. 9. Climbing. 10. Skipping.

Skipping. 11. Sliding. 12. Skating. 13. Swinging. 14. Bell-ringing. 15. Fiving. And, 16. Dancing.' I. 586.

All these various sports and pastimes are then elaborately described. We prefer the section on Jumping, as the shortest and most satisfactory.

'*Jumping.*—As this species of exercise is included among the gymnastic sorts, under the head *Leaping*, it is unnecessary to dwell upon it in this place.' I. 587, 588.

The manly exercises of Tennis, Cricket, Golf, &c. are described in the same manner; then the gymnastic, of Leaping, Foot-racing, Boxing, &c.; and finally the healthful, as Walking, Riding, Sailing, &c. We do not find any thing in the least degree curious or important in the worthy Baronet's laborious and very fatiguing descriptions of these practices. He is very long, and, he seems to imagine, particularly ingenious, in the recommendation of *friction.* It cures sore throats, we are informed,—indigestion, rheumatism, &c. &c. Nay, such is its virtue, in Sir John Sinclair's opinion, that he exclaims, somewhat rudely, 'How many are there who keep a number of grooms to curry their horses, who would add *ten years* to their comfortable existence, if they would employ but one of them to curry themselves with a flesh-brush night and morning!' The benefits of exercise are summed up in this manner. It prevents the formation of diseases; it cures many of them without the assistance of medicine; and it greatly facilitates the cure when medicines are necessary. After a full hundred pages of idle detail, we come to the grand result of the discussion, in these simple maxims,—which we really imagine might have been discovered with less exertion.

'It is an indispensable law of longevity, that one should exercise *at least* an hour every day, *in the open air.*

'Those who can, ought to spend two or three hours a day on horseback; those who cannot ride, should employ the same time in walking.

'It is a good rule, to appropriate a considerable and fixed time daily, for being out in the open air, taking moderate exercise, in proportion to the constitution and time of life. Exercise, it is said, should, at least once a day, proceed to the borders of fatigue, and never pass them; though excess of exercise, probably, is not so hurtful as some appear to have imagined.' I. p. 675.

There is a curious Appendix to this chapter, containing the result of the author's enquiries as to the method pursued by those who undertake to *train* individuals for great feats of athletic exertion in walking, running, boxing, &c. To some readers this will appear the most interesting part of the publication; and therefore, we shall not pass it without notice; though it does appear to us that there is very little mystery in the business. The sum

and

and substance of the method is to strengthen the body with nutritive and digestible food, and to enure it to great exertion by constant practice. The detail of the process is shortly as follows. A purgative medicine is given at the beginning, to clear the intestines. They are fed fully on the lean parts of beef or mutton slightly broiled or roasted, with a little vinegar and salt, but no spices. The only vegetable substance they are allowed, is stale bread. They are required to drink very little; not more than three or four pints in the day, and this, of old unbottled ale, and in very small quantities at a time. Wine is only allowed to those with whom ale disagrees; and spirits are entirely prohibited. They are exercised violently for three hours early in the morning, when they are rubbed down, and dressed dry, and then breakfast on their beef and bread. In three or four hours after, they are exercised a second time; and, after they are refreshed, dine in the same manner. They usually get no supper, and are allowed eight hours sleep. The proper age for training, is from eighteen to twenty-five; and the process is generally completed within two months. The effects are to remove fat, and to add prodigiously to the muscular vigour, the goodness of the wind, and power of continuing in exertion. The training necessary for reducing the weight of jockies and riding grooms, consists almost entirely in abstinence and violent perspiration, brought on either by exercise, or heat and clothing. Some are said to have brought themselves down two stones in the course of ten days; and that without any sensible injury to their health.

The last chapter treats of Sleep; and begins with a long enumeration of the uses of this meritorious invention. The first practical enquiry is as to the proper quantity; and here, talking of Alfred and his tapers, the author is naturally led to inform us, that 'he himself has studied twelve hours a day for three months together; but he would not recommend it to any other person to try the same experiment.' After a great deal of argumentation, he settles in the old familiar axiom, that from six to eight hours is a proper portion of sleep; but that infants and invalids may have more. He is of opinion, moreover, that it is right to sleep in the night, and not to rise too early, especially in cold or bad weather. Our bed-chambers, he thinks, should be airy, and not too warm. There follows, after this, a long deduction of the invention and improvement of beds, which is treated of with proper gravity and method, in five sections, beginning thus:

'The subject of the bed or couch, may be explained under the following heads. 1. The nature of the feather bed and bolster. 2. The height thereof. 3. The bed-clothes. 4. The Curtains. 5. Miscellaneous remarks.

'1. The materials on which any individual sleeps, is an important consideration. The skins of animals destroyed in the chase, would probably be the first article that hunters would think of. Rushes, straw, and heath, would naturally occur to husbandmen, and those who resided in the country; and are still general in many countries, as France and Italy. In cold countries, more warmth is necessary, and feathers were thought of. Indeed, so partial are they in many countries in the northern parts of Europe to feathers, that they actually sleep between two down beds, however strange such a circumstance may appear to those who have not witnessed it. But, on the whole, the invention of what are called hair-matresses, is superior to every other, not overheating and relaxing the body, as feathers are apt to do.' I. p. 741.

We are told, moreover, that we should undress when we go to bed; not wear too warm nightcaps, and lye on our sides, with eyes and mouth closed; and that if we find any difficulty in getting to sleep, we should abstain from tea and coffee, take exercise, bathe the feet, and count to a thousand. The chapter is closed by a variety of miscellaneous rules; the complexion of which may be judged of from the following specimen.

'It is a good rule, to lock the door of your bed-room previous to going to rest, so as to prevent your being suddenly and hastily roused by any person coming into the room; and you should also examine the room carefully, that no cat, or dog, or any other animal, may disturb your sleep, the alarm of which may be highly injurious.' I. p. 767, 768.

We have now gone through the whole original part of the Code of Health and Longevity, with such feelings of disappointment and fatigue, as, we are afraid, must have extended their influence to our readers; and, really, after the long trial to which we have subjected their patience, we have neither confidence nor courage to engage them in a minute examination of the supplementary volumes. Near 2000 pages of close printing, however, cannot be dismissed without some little notice of their contents; and, for the satisfaction of those whose curiosity is not yet satisfied, we shall now make an hasty sketch of their subject.

The second volume contains an account of the Ancient writers on health and longevity, with extracts from their works; a catalogue of all the books ancient and modern on those subjects; and a selection from the communications which were made to the author during the composition of this work.

The account of ancient authors is wholly extracted from modern commentators, or translators of their works. The catalogue, which is a mere list of title-pages, like a common sale catalogue, fills about 150 pages of pleasant reading. The communications which relate to the training of boxers and racers are the most curious and interesting. The greater part, however, consists of accounts of individuals who have attained to a great age,

age, with some notices of their maxims and habits, which are various and contradictory, to a degree that sets all system and theory at defiance. There is an infinite deal of trash, of course, in these village gossipings. The most preposterous, perhaps, is in the account of an old man in Caithness, of whom it is recorded, 'that he recollected a number of old anecdotes, particularly of Sir George *Sinclair* of Blyth, *a cadet of the family of Ulbster*, who for his sagacity, and the manly, liberal and generous spirit which he displayed on all occasions, was called "*the Cock of the North.*"'

The third volume is entirely occupied with an account of the foreign authors who have treated of health and longevity, and with extracts from their works, beginning with the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, and ending with the treatise of *Hallé* on the *Hygiène*. There are some rare and curious things reprinted in this volume, with many that are dull, common, and contemptible.

The last volume is dedicated to the British authors who have treated of health and longevity, and is chiefly occupied with a republication of Lord Bacon's most insane and credulous quackeries, and the common and neglected treatises of Sir W. Temple and Mr Boyle on health and specific medicines. Among the British authors, Sir John Sinclair has admitted two American pamphlets; one by Dr Rush on old age, and another by Dr Waterhouse on smoking cigars; which last is about the most miserable and childish performance we have ever seen, from any pen either British or foreign.

We take our leave of Sir John Sinclair with feelings of renewed astonishment at his patience and his temerity, in undertaking a work for which he was in all respects so unqualified: but without any emotions either of surprize or of compassion at his ill success. It is perfectly plain, that no one but a medical man, of much experience and high reputation, can ever produce any work on dietetics, of the smallest authority, or, consequently, of the smallest use. Even if it were possible for a mere *dilettante* to avoid the many gross and dangerous errors into which Sir John Sinclair must have fallen, it is evident that no prudent man would give him credit for such sagacity, or think himself safe in the guidance of a mere adventurer, in a matter where we do not commit ourselves without anxiety to the care of the most experienced practitioner. In the hands of a bold theorist, however, the mass of materials which are here huddled together, might have produced many ingenious conjectures, and suggested many curious analogies. In the hands of Sir John Sinclair, they have been altogether unfruitful, and produced nothing. His work is still a chaos, without harmony or order; and, instead of settling controversies by his reasonings, or maturing conjecture in-

to science by his genius, he appears merely as a doubtful reporter of contradictory opinions, and a timid retailer of the most shallow and familiar precepts. We have expressed our opinion of this work the more freely, because the author appears to us to have stepped altogether out of his proper sphere in composing it, and, by this breach of privilege, to have exposed himself to the utmost severity of criticism. It is no part of the duty of a country gentleman or a member of parliament, to be profoundly skilled in physiology; nor is it any disparagement to him after all, to have written injudiciously on the most delicate and important of all the branches of Medicine. We give Sir John full credit for the excellence of his motives, and willingly bear testimony to the industry by which they have been seconded. It is our duty, however, to say, that, on this occasion, his philanthropy has been misdirected, and his industry misapplied.

ART. XIV. *Poems, in Two Volumes.* By William Wordsworth, *Author of the Lyrical Ballads.* 8vo. pp. 320. London, 1807.

THIS author is known to belong to a certain brotherhood of poets, who have haunted for some years about the Lakes of Cumberland; and is generally looked upon, we believe, as the purest model of the excellences and peculiarities of the school which they have been labouring to establish. Of the general merits of that school, we have had occasion to express our opinion pretty fully, in more places than one, and even to make some allusion to the former publications of the writer now before us. We are glad, however, to have found an opportunity of attending somewhat more particularly to his pretensions.

The Lyrical Ballads were unquestionably popular, and, we have no hesitation in saying, deservedly popular; for, in spite of their occasional vulgarity, affectation, and silliness, they were undoubtedly characterised by a strong spirit of originality, of pathos, and natural feeling; and recommended to all good minds by the clear impression which they bore of the amiable dispositions and virtuous principles of the author. By the help of these qualities, they were enabled, not only to recommend themselves to the indulgence of many judicious readers, but even to beget, among a pretty numerous class of persons, a sort of admiration of the very defects by which they were attended. It was upon this account chiefly, that we thought it necessary to set ourselves against this alarming innovation. Childishness, conceit, and affectation, are not of themselves very popular or attractive; and though mere novelty has sometimes been found sufficient to give them a temporary

tempo,ary currency, we should have had no fear of their prevailing to any dangerous extent, if they had been graced with no more seductive accompaniments. It was precisely because the perverseness and bad taste of this new school was combined with a great deal of genius and of laudable feeling, that we were afraid of their spreading and gaining ground among us, and that we entered into the discussion with a degree of zeal and animosity which some might think unreasonable towards authors, to whom so much merit had been conceded. There were times and moods, indeed, in which we were led to suspect ourselves of unjustifiable severity, and to doubt, whether a sense of public duty had not carried us rather too far in reprobation of errors that seemed to be atoned for by excellencies of no vulgar description. At other times, the magnitude of these errors—the disgusting absurdities into which they led their feebler admirers, and the derision and contempt which they drew from the more fastidious, even upon the merits with which they were associated, made us wonder more than ever at the perversity by which they were retained, and regret that we had not declared ourselves against them with still more formidable and decided hostility.

In this temper of mind, we read the *annonce* of Mr Wordsworth's publication with a good deal of interest and expectation, and opened his volumes with greater anxiety, than he or his admirers will probably give us credit for. We have been greatly disappointed certainly as to the quality of the poetry; but we doubt whether the publication has afforded so much satisfaction to any other of his readers:—it has freed us from all doubt or hesitation as to the justice of our former censures, and has brought the matter to a test, which we cannot help hoping may be convincing to the author himself.

Mr Wordsworth, we think, has now brought the question, as to the merit of his new school of poetry, to a very fair and decisive issue. The volumes before us are much more strongly marked by all its peculiarities than any former publication of the fraternity. In our apprehension, they are, on this vrey account, infinitely less interesting or meritorious; but it belongs to the public, and not to us, to decide upon their merit, and we will confess, that so strong is our conviction of their obvious inferiority, and the grounds of it, that we are willing for once to wave our right of appealing to posterity, and to take the judgment of the present generation of readers, and even of Mr Wordsworth's former admirers, as conclusive on this occasion. If these volumes, which have all the benefit of the author's former popularity, turn out to be nearly as popular as the lyrical ballads—if they sell nearly to the same extent—or are quoted and imitated

among half as many individuals, we shall admit that Mr Wordsworth has come much nearer the truth in his judgment of what constitutes the charm of poetry, than we had previously imagined—and shall institute a more serious and respectful inquiry into his principles of composition than we have yet thought necessary. On the other hand,—if this little work, selected from the compositions of five maturer years, and written avowedly for the purpose of exalting a system which has already excited a good deal of attention, should be generally rejected by those whose prepossessions were in its favour, there is room to hope, not only that the system itself will meet with no more encouragement, but even that the author will be persuaded to abandon a plan of writing, which defrauds his talents and industry of their natural reward.

Putting ourselves thus upon our country, we certainly look for a verdict against this publication; and have little doubt indeed of the result, upon a fair consideration of the evidence contained in these volumes. To accelerate that result, and to give a general view of the evidence, to those into whose hands the record may not have already fallen, we must now make a few observations and extracts.

We shall not resume any of the particular discussions by which we formerly attempted to ascertain the value of the improvements which this new school has effected in poetry *; but shall lay the grounds of our opposition, for this time, a little more broadly. The end of poetry, we take it, is to please—and the name, we think, is strictly applicable to every metrical composition from which we receive pleasure, without any laborious exercise of the understanding. This pleasure may, in general, be analyzed into three parts—that which we receive from the excitement of Passion or Emotion—that which is derived from the play of Imagination, or the easy exercise of Reason—and that which depends on the character and qualities of the Diction. The two first are the vital and primary springs of poetical delight, and can scarcely require explanation to any one. The last has been alternately overrated and undervalued by the professors of the poetical art, and is in such low estimation with the author now before us, and his associates, that it is necessary to say a few words in explanation of it.

One great beauty of diction exists only for those who have some degree of scholarship or critical skill. This is what depends on the exquisite *propriety* of the words employed, and the delicacy with which they are adapted to the meaning which is

* See Vol. I. p. 63, &c.—Vol. VII. p. 1, &c.

is to be expressed. Many of the finest passages in Virgil and Pope derive their principal charm from the fine propriety of their diction. Another source of beauty, which extends only to the more instructed class of readers, is that which consists in the judicious or happy application of expressions which have been sanctified by the use of famous writers, or which bear the stamp of a simple or venerable antiquity. There are other beauties of diction, however, which are perceptible by all—the beauties of sweet sound and pleasant associations. The melody of words and verses is indifferent to no reader of poetry; but the chief recommendation of poetical language is certainly derived from those general associations, which give it a character of dignity or elegance, sublimity or tenderness. Every one knows that there are low and mean expressions, as well as lofty and grave ones; and that some words bear the impression of coarseness and vulgarity, as clearly as others do of refinement and affection. We do not mean, of course, to say any thing in defence of the hackneyed common places of ordinary versemen. Whatever might have been the original character of these unlucky phrases, they are now associated with nothing but ideas of schoolboy imbecility and vulgar affectation. But what we do maintain is, that much of the most popular poetry in the world owes its celebrity chiefly to the beauty of its diction; and that no poetry can be long or generally acceptable, the language of which is coarse, inelegant, or infantine.

From this great source of pleasure, we think the readers of Mr Wordsworth are in a great measure cut off. His diction has no where any pretensions to elegance or dignity; and he has scarcely ever condescended to give the grace of correctness or melody to his versification. If it were merely slovenly and neglected, however, all this might be endured. Strong sense and powerful feeling will ennoble any expressions; or, at least, no one who is capable of estimating those higher merits, will be disposed to mark these little defects. But, in good truth, no man, now-a-days, composes verses for publication with a slovenly neglect of their language. It is a fine and laborious manufacture, which can scarcely ever be made in a hurry; and the faults which it has, may, for the most part, be set down to bad taste or incapacity, rather than to carelessness or oversight. With Mr Wordsworth and his friends, it is plain that their peculiarities of diction are things of choice, and not of accident. They write as they do upon principle and system; and it evidently costs them much pains to keep *down* to the standard which they have proposed to themselves. They are, to the full, as much mannerists, too, as the poetasters who ring changes on the common places of maga-

zine

zine versification; and all the difference between them is, that they borrow their phrases from a different and a scantier *gradus ad Parnassum*. If they were, indeed, to discard all imitation and set phraseology, and to bring in no words merely for show or for metre,—as much, perhaps, might be gained in freedom and originality, as would infallibly be lost in allusion and authority; but, in point of fact, the new poets are just as great borrowers as the old; only that, instead of borrowing from the more popular passages of their illustrious predecessors, they have preferred furnishing themselves from vulgar ballads and plebeian nurseries.

Their peculiarities of diction alone, are enough, perhaps, to render them ridiculous; but the author before us really seems anxious to court this literary martyrdom by a device still more infallible,—we mean, that of connecting his most lofty, tender, or impassioned conceptions, with objects and incidents, which the greater part of his readers will probably persist in thinking low, silly, or uninteresting. Whether this is done from affectation and conceit alone, or whether it may not arise, in some measure, from the self-illusion of a mind of extraordinary sensibility, habituated to solitary meditation, we cannot undertake to determine. It is possible enough, we allow, that the sight of a friend's garden-spade, or a sparrow's nest, or a man gathering leeches, might really have suggested to such a mind a train of powerful impressions and interesting reflections; but it is certain, that, to most minds, such associations will always appear forced, strained, and unnatural; and that the composition in which it is attempted to exhibit them, will always have the air of parody, or ludicrous and affected singularity. All the world laughs at Elegiac stanzas to a sucking-pig—a Hymn on Washing-day—Sonnets to one's grandmother—or Pindarics on gooseberry-pye; and yet, we are afraid, it will not be quite easy to convince Mr Wordsworth, that the same ridicule must infallibly attach to most of the pathetic pieces in these volumes. To satisfy our readers, however, as to the justice of this and our other anticipations, we shall proceed, without further preface, to lay before them a short view of their contents.

The first is a kind of ode 'to the Daisy,'—very flat, feeble, and affected; and in a diction as artificial, and as much encumbered with heavy expletives, as the theme of an unpractised schoolboy. The two following stanzas will serve as a specimen.

'When soothed a while by milder airs,
Thee Winter in the garland wears
That thinly shades his few grey hairs;
Spring cannot shun thee;
Whole summer fields are thine by right;
And Autumn, melancholy wight!

Doth

Doth in thy crimson head delight
When rains are on thee.
In shoals and bands a morrice train,
Thou greet'st the Traveller in the lane;
If welcome once thou count'st it gain;
Thou art not daunted,
Nor car'st if thou be set at naught;
And oft alone in nooks remote
We meet thee, like a pleasant thought,
When such are wanted.' I. p. 2.

The scope of the piece is to say, that the flower is found every where; and that it has suggested many pleasant thoughts to the author—some chime of fancy '*wrong or right*'—some feeling of devotion '*more or less*'—and other elegancies of the same stamp. It ends with this unmeaning prophecy.

' Thou long the poet's praise shalt gain;
Thou wilt be more beloved by men
In times to come; thou not in vain
Art nature's favourite.' I. 6.

The next is called 'Louisa,' and begins in this dashing and affected manner.

' I met Louisa in the shade;
And, having seen that lovely maid,
Why should I fear to say,
That she is ruddy, fleet, and *strong;*
And down the rocks can leap along,
Like rivulets in May?' I. 7.

Does Mr Wordsworth really imagine that this is at all more natural or engaging than the ditties of our common song-writers?

A little farther on we have another original piece, entitled, 'The Redbreast and the Butterfly,' of which our readers will probably be contented with the first stanza.

' Art thou the bird whom man loves best,
The pious bird with the scarlet breast,
Our little English Robin;
The bird that comes about our doors
When autumn winds are sobbing?
Art thou the Peter of Norway Boors?
Their Thomas in Finland;
And Russia far inland?
The bird, whom, *by some name or other,*
All men who know thee call their brother,
The darling of children and men?
Could father Adam open his eyes,
And see this sight beneath the skies,
He'd wish to close them again.' I. 16.

This, it must be confessed, is 'Silly Sooth' in good earnest. The three last lines seem to be downright raving.

By

By and by, we have a piece of namby-pamby 'to the Small Celandine,' which we should almost have taken for a professed imitation of one of Mr Philips's prettyisms. Here is a page of it.

'Comfort have thou of thy merit,
Kindly, unassuming spirit!
Careless of thy neighbourhood,
Thou dost show thy pleasant face
On the moor, and in the wood,
In the lane;—there's not a place,
Howsoever mean it be,
But 'tis good enough for thee.
Ill befal the yellow flowers,
Children of the flaring hours!
Buttercups, that will be seen,
Whether we will see or no;
Others, too, of lofty mein;
They have done as worldlings do,
Taken praise that should be thine,
Little, humble Celandine!' I. 25.

After talking of its 'bright coronet,'

'And its arch and wily ways,
And its store of other praise,

the ditty is wound up with this piece of babyish absurdity.

'Thou art not beyond the moon,
But a thing "beneath our shoon;"
Let, as Old Magellan did,
Others roam about the sea;
Build who will a pyramid;
Praise it is enough for me,
If there be but three or four
Who will love my little flower.' I. 30.

After this come some more manly lines on 'The Character of the Happy Warrior,' and a chivalrous legend on 'The Horn of Egremont Castle,' which, without being very good, is very tolerable, and free from most of the author's habitual defects. Then follow some pretty, but professedly childish verses, on a kitten playing with the falling leaves. There is rather too much of Mr Ambrose Philips here and there in this piece also; but it is amiable and lively.

Farther on, we find an 'Ode to Duty,' in which the lofty vein is very unsuccessfully attempted. This is the concluding stanza:

'Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we any thing so fair
As is the smile upon thy face;

Flowers

Flowers laugh before thee on their beds;
And fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong.' I. 73.

The two last lines seem to be utterly without meaning; at least we have no sort of conception in what sense *Duty* can be said to keep the old skies *fresh*, and the stars from wrong.

The next piece, entitled 'the Beggars,' may be taken, we fancy, as a touchstone of Mr Wordsworth's merit. There is something about it that convinces us it is a favourite of the author's, though to us, we will confess, it appears to be a very paragon of silliness and affectation. Our readers shall have the greater part of it. It begins thus:

'She had a tall man's height, or more;
No bonnet screen'd her from the heat;
A long drab coloured cloke she wore,
A mantle reaching to her feet:
What other dress she had I could not know:
Only she wore a cap that was as white as snow.

'Before me begging did she stand,
Pouring out sorrows like a sea;
Grief after grief:—on English land
Such woes I knew could never be;
And yet a boon I gave her; for the creature
Was beautiful to see, a weed of glorious feature!' I. 77, 78.

The poet, leaving this interesting person, falls in with two ragged boys at play, and 'like that woman's face as gold is like to gold.' Here is the conclusion of this memorable adventure.

'They bolted on me thus, and lo!
Each ready with a plaintive whine;
Said I, "Not half an hour ago
Your mother has had alms of mine."
"That cannot be," one answered "She is dead."
"Nay but I gave her pence, and she will buy you bread."

"She has been dead, Sir, many a day."
"Sweet boys, you're telling me a lie;
"It was your mother, as I say—"
And in the twinkling of an eye,
"Come, come!" cried one; and, without more ado,
Off to some other play they both together flew.' I. 79.

'Alice Fell' is a performance of the same order. The poet, driving into Durham in a postchaise, hears a sort of scream; and, calling to the post-boy to stop, finds a little girl crying on the back of the vehicle.

"My

" My cloak!" the word was last and first,
And loud and bitterly she wept,
As if her very heart would burst;
And down from off the chaise she leapt.

" What ails you, child?" she sobb'd, " Look here!"
I saw it in the wheel entangled.
A weather beaten rag as e'er
From any garden scarecrow dangled.' I. 85, 86.

They then extricate the torn garment, and the good-natured bard takes the child into the carriage along with him. The narrative proceeds—

" My child, in Durham do you dwell?"
She checked herself in her distress,
And said, " My name is Alice Fell;
I'm fatherless and motherless.

And I to Durham, Sir, belong."
And then, as if the thought would choke
Her very heart, her grief grew strong;
And all was for her tattered cloak.

The chaise drove on; our journey's end
Was nigh; and, sitting by my side,
As if she'd lost her only friend
She wept, nor would be pacified.

Up to the tavern-door we post;
Of Alice and her grief I told;
And I gave money to the host,
To buy a new cloak for the old.

" And let it be of duffil gray,
As warm a cloak as man can sell!"
Proud creature was she the next day,
The little orphan, Alice Fell!' I. p. 87, 88.

If the printing of such trash as this be not felt as an insult on the public taste, we are afraid it cannot be insulted.

After this follows the longest and most elaborate poem in the volume, under the title of 'Resolution and Independence.' The poet, roving about on a common one fine morning, falls into pensive musings on the fate of the sons of song, which he sums up in this fine distich.

'We poets in our youth begin in gladness;
But thereof comes in the end despondency and madness.' I. p. 92.

In the midst of his meditations—

'I saw a man before me unawares:
The oldest man he seemed that ever wore grey hairs.

Motionless as a cloud the old man stood;
That heareth not the loud winds when they call;
And moveth altogether, if it move at all:

At

At length, himself unsettling, he the pond
Stirred with his staff, and fixedly did look
Upon the muddy water, which he conn'd,
As if he had been reading in a book:
And now such freedom as I could I took:
And, drawing to his side, to him did say,
"This morning gives us promise of a glorious day."

"What kind of work is that which you pursue?
This is a lonesome place for one like you."
He answer'd me *with pleasure and surprise;*
And there was, while he spake, a fire about his eyes,
He told me *that he to this pond had come*
To gather leeches, being old and poor:
Employment hazardous and wearisome!
And he had many hardships to endure:
From pond to pond he roam'd, from moor to moor,
Housing, with God's good help, by choice or chance:
And in this way he gained an honest maintenance.' I. p. 92-95.

Notwithstanding the distinctness of this answer, the poet, it seems, was so wrapped up in his own moody fancies, that he could not attend to it.

"And now, not knowing what the old man had said,
My question eagerly did I renew,
"How is it that you live, and what is it you do?"
He with a smile did then his words repeat:
And said, that, *gathering leeches*, far and wide
He travelled: stirring thus *about his feet*
The waters of the ponds where they abide.
"*Once I could meet with them on every side;*
But they have dwindled long by slow decay;
Yet still I persevere, and find them where I may." I. p. 96, 97.

This very interesting account, which he is lucky enough at last to comprehend, fills the poet with comfort and admiration; and, quite glad to find the old man so cheerful, he resolves to take a lesson of contentedness from him; and the poem ends with this pious ejaculation—

"God," said I, "be my help and stay secure;
I'll think of the leech-gatherer on the lonely moor." I. p. 97.

We defy the bitterest enemy of Mr Wordsworth to produce any thing at all parallel to this from any collection of English poetry, or even from the specimens of his friend Mr Southey. The volume ends with some sonnets, in a very different measure, of which we shall say something by and by.

The first poems in the second volume were written during a tour in Scotland. The first is a very dull one about Rob Roy; but the title that attracted us most was, 'An Address to the Sons of

of *Burns*, after visiting their Father's grave.' Never was any thing, however, more miserable. This is one of the four stanzas.

'Strong bodied if ye be to bear
Intemperance with less harm, beware!
But if your father's wit ye share,
Then, then indeed,
Ye sons of Burns! for watchful care
There will be need.' II. p. 29.

The next is a very tedious, affected performance, called 'the Yarrow Unvisited.' The drift of it is, that the poet refused to visit this celebrated stream, because he had 'a vision of his own' about it, which the reality might perhaps undo; and, for this no less fantastical reason—

"Should life be dull, and spirits low,
"'Twill soothe us in our sorrow,
"That earth has something yet to show,
"The bonny holms of Yarrow!" II. p. 35.

After this we come to some ineffable compositions, which the poet has simply entitled, 'Moods of my own Mind.' One begins—

'O Nightingale! thou surely art
A creature of a fiery heart—
Thou sing'st as if the god of wine
Had help'd thee to a valentine.' II. p. 42.

This is the whole of another—

'My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The child is father of the man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.' II. p. 44.

A third, 'on a Sparrow's Nest,' runs thus—

'Look, five blue eggs are gleaming there!
Few visions have I seen more fair,
Nor many prospects of delight
More pleasing than that simple sight.' II. p. 53.

The charm of this fine prospect, however, was, that it reminded him of another nest which his sister Emmeline and he had visited in their childhood.

'She look'd at it as if she fear'd it;
Still wishing, dreading to be near it:
Such heart was in her, being then
A little prattler among men.' &c. &c. II. p. 54.

We have then a rapturous mystical ode to the Cuckoo; in which the

the author, striving after force and originality, produces nothing but absurdity.

'O Cuckoo! shall I call thee bird,
Or but a wandering voice?' II. p. 57.

And then he says, that the said voice seemed to pass from hill to hill, 'about and all about!'—Afterwards he assures us, it tells him 'in the vale of visionary hours,' and calls it a darling; but still insists, that it is

'No bird; but an invisible thing,
A voice—a mystery.' II. p. 58.

It is afterwards 'a hope;' and 'a love;' and, finally,

'O blessed *bird!* the earth we pace
Again appears to be
An unsubstantial faery place,
That is fit home for thee!' II. p. 59.

After this there is an address to a butterfly, whom he invites to visit him, in these simple strains—

'This plot of orchard ground is ours;
My trees they are, my sister's flowers;
Stop here whenever you are weary.' II. p. 61.

We come next to a long story of a 'Blind Highland Boy,' who lived near an arm of the sea, and had taken a most unnatural desire to venture on that perilous element. His mother did all she could to prevent him; but one morning, when the good woman was out of the way, he got into a vessel of his own, and pushed out from the shore.

'In such a vessel ne'er before
Did human creature leave the shore.' II. p. 72.

And then we are told, that if the sea should get rough, 'a beehive would be ship as safe.' 'But say, what was it?' a poetical interlocutor is made to exclaim most naturally; and here followeth the answer, upon which all the pathos and interest of the story depend,

'A Household Tub, like one of those
Which women use to wash their clothes!!' II. p. 72.

This, it will be admitted, is carrying the matter as far as it will well go; nor is there any thing,—down to the wiping of shoes, or the evisceration of chickens,—which may not be introduced in poetry, if this is tolerated. A boat is sent out and brings the boy ashore, who being tolerably frightened, we suppose, promises to go to sea no more; and so the story ends.

Then we have a poem, called 'the Green Linnet,' which opens with the poet's telling us,

'A whispering leaf is now my joy,
And then a bird will be the *toy*
That doth my fancy *tether*.' II. p. 79.

and closes thus—

'While thus before my eyes he gleams,
A brother of the leaves he seems;
When in a moment forth *he teems*
His little song in gushes;
As if it pleas'd him to disdain
And mock the form which he did feign,
While he was dancing with the train
Of leaves among the bushes.' II. p. 81.

The next is called 'Star Gazers.' A set of people peeping through a telescope, all seem to come away disappointed with the sight; whereupon thus sweetly moralizeth our poet:

'Yet, showman, where can lye the cause? shall thy implement have blame,
A boaster that, when he is tried, fails and is put to shame?
Or is it good as others are, and be their eyes in fault?
Their eyes, or minds? or, finally, is this resplendent vault?

Or, is it rather, that conceit, rapacious is and strong,
And bounty never yields so much but it seems to do her wrong?
Or, is it, that when human souls a journey long have had,
And are returned into themselves, they cannot but be sad?' II. p. 88.

There are then some really sweet and amiable verses on a French lady, separated from her own children, fondling the baby of a neighbouring cottager;—after which we have this quintessence of unmeaningness, entitled, 'Foresight.'

'That is work which I am rueing—
Do as Charles and I are doing!
Strawberry blossoms, one and all,
We must spare them—here are many;
Look at it—the flower is small,
Small and low, though fair as any:
Do not touch it! Summers two
I am older, Anne, than you.
Pull the primrose, sister Anne!
Pull as many as you can.

Primroses, the spring may love them—
Summer knows but little of them:
Violets do what they will,
Wither'd on the ground must lye;
Daisies will be daisies still;
Daisies they must live and die:
Fill your lap and fill your bosom,
Only spare the strawberry blossom!' II. p. 115, 116.

Afterwards come some stanzas about an echo repeating a cuckoo's voice; here is one for a sample—

'Whence the voice? from air or earth?
This the cuckoo cannot tell;

But a startling sound had birth,
As the bird must know full well.' II. p. 123.

Then we have Elegiac stanzas 'to the Spade of a Friend,' beginning—

'Spade! with which Wilkinson hath till'd his lands,'

—but too dull to be quoted any further.

After this there is a Minstrel's Song, on the Restoration of Lord Clifford the Shepherd, which is in a very different strain of poetry; and then the volume is wound up with an 'Ode,' with no other title but the motto, *Paulo majora canamus.* This is, beyond all doubt, the most illegible and unintelligible part of the publication. We can pretend to give no analysis or explanation of it;—our readers must make what they can of the following extracts,

'—But there's a tree, of many one,
A single field which I have look'd upon,
Both of them speak of something that is gone:
The pansy at my feet
Doth the same tale repeat:
Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?' II. 150.

'O joy! that in our embers
Is something that doth live,
That nature yet remembers
What was so fugitive!
The thought of our past years in me doth breed
Perpetual benedictions: not indeed
For that which is most worthy to be blest;
Delight and liberty, the simple creed
Of childhood, whether fluttering or at rest,
With new-born hope forever in his breast:—
Not for these I raise
The song of thanks and praise;
But for those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,
Fallings from us, vanishings;
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realiz'd,
High instincts, before which our mortal nature
Did tremble like a guilty thing surpriz'd:
But for those first affections,
Those shadowy recollections,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our our seeing;
Uphold us, cherish us, and make

Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the eternal silence: truths that wake,
To perish never;
Which neither listlessness, nor mad endeavour,
Nor man nor boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy!
Hence, in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.' II. 154-6.

We have thus gone through this publication, with a view to enable our readers to determine, whether the author of the verses which have now been exhibited, is entitled to claim the honours of an improver or restorer of our poetry, and to found a new school to supersede or new-model all our maxims on the subject. If we were to stop here, we do not think that Mr Wordsworth, or his admirers, would have any reason to complain; for what we have now quoted is undeniably the most peculiar and characteristic part of his publication, and must be defended and applauded, if the merit or originality of his system is to be seriously maintained. In our own opinion, however, the demerit of that system cannot be fairly appreciated, until it be shown that the author of the bad verses which we have already extracted, can write good verses when he pleases; and that, in point of fact, he does always write good verses, when, by any accident, he is led to abandon his system, and to transgress the laws of that school which he would fain establish on the ruin of all existing authority.

The length to which our extracts and observations have already extended, necessarily restrains us within more narrow limits in this part of our citations; but it will not require much labour to find a pretty decided contrast to some of the passages we have already detailed. The song on the restoration of Lord Clifford is put into the mouth of an ancient minstrel of the family; and in composing it, the author was led, therefore, almost irresistably, to adopt the manner and phraseology that is understood to be connected with that sort of composition, and to throw aside his own babyish incidents and fantastical sensibilities. How he has succeeded, the reader will be able to judge from the few following extracts. The poem opens in this spirited manner—

'High in the breathless hall the minstrel sate,
And Emont's murmur mingled with the song.—
The words of ancient time I thus translate,
A festal strain that hath been silent long.

From

" From town to town, from tower to tower,
The red rose is a gladsome flower.
Her thirty years of winter past,
The red rose is revived at last;
She lifts her head for endless Spring,
For everlasting blossoming!" II. p. 128-9.

After alluding, in a very animated manner, to the troubles and perils which drove the youth of the hero into concealment, the minstrel proceeds—

' Alas! when evil men are strong
No life is good, no pleasure long.
The boy must part from Mosedale's groves,
And leave Blencathera's rugged coves,
And quit the flowers that summer brings
To Glenderamakin's lofty springs;
Must vanish, and his careless cheer
Be turned to heaviness and fear.
—Give Sir Launcelot Threlkeld praise!
Hear it, good man, old in days!
Thou tree of covert and of rest
For this young bird that is distrest,
Among thy branches safe he lay,
And he was free to sport and play,
When falcons were abroad for prey.' II. 133-4.

The poem closes in this manner:

' —Now another day is come,
Fitter hope, and nobler doom:
He hath thrown aside his crook,
And hath buried deep his book;
Armour rusting in his halls
On the blood of Clifford calls:—
" Quell the Scot!" exclaims the lance,
" Bear me to the heart of France!"
Is the longing of the shield—
Tell thy name, thou trembling field;
Field of death, where'er thou be,
Groan thou with our victory!
Happy day, and mighty hour,
When our shepherd, in his power,
Mail'd and hors'd, with lance and sword,
To his ancestors restor'd,
Like a re-appearing star,
Like a glory from afar,
First shall head the flock of war!"

Alas! the fervent harper did not know
That for a tranquil soul the lay was framed,

Who, long compell'd in humble walks to go,
Was softened into feeling, sooth'd, and tamed.

In him the savage virtue of the race,
Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead:
Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place
The wisdom which adversity had bred.

Glad were the vales, and every cottage hearth;
The Shepherd Lord was honour'd more and more:
And, ages after he was laid in earth,
"The good Lord Clifford" was the name he bore.'
I. 136—138.

All English writers of sonnets have imitated Milton; and, in this way, Mr Wordsworth, when he writes sonnets, escapes again from the trammels of his own unfortunate system; and the consequence is, that his sonnets are as much superior to the greater part of his other poems, as Milton's sonnets are superior to his. We give the following 'On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic.'

'Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the eldest child of Liberty.
She was a maiden city, bright and free;
No guile seduced, no force could violate;
And when she took unto herself a mate
She must espouse the everlasting Sea.
And what if she had seen those glories fade,
Those titles vanish, and that strength decay,
Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid
When her long life hath reach'd its final day:
Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
Of that which once was great is pass'd away.' I. 132.

The following is entitled 'London.'

'Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour:
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea;
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on itself did lay.' I. 140.

We

We make room for this other; though the four first lines are bad, and 'week-day man' is by no means a Miltonic epithet.

'I griev'd for Buonaparte, with a vain
And an unthinking grief! The vital blood
Of that man's mind what can it be? What food
Fed his first hopes? What knowledge could he gain?
'Tis not in battles that from youth we train
The governor who must be wise and good,
And temper with the sternness of the brain
Thoughts motherly, and meek as womanhood.
Wisdom doth live with children round her knees:
Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk
Of the mind's business: these are the degrees
By which true sway doth mount; this is the stalk
True power doth grow on; and her rights are these.' I. 130.

When we look at these, and many still finer passages, in the writings of this author, it is impossible not to feel a mixture of indignation and compassion, at that strange infatuation which has bound him up from the fair exercise of his talents, and withheld from the public the many excellent productions that would otherwise have taken the place of the trash now before us. Even in the worst of these productions, there are, no doubt, occasional little traits of delicate feeling and original fancy; but these are quite lost and obscured in the mass of childishness and insipidity with which they are incorporated; nor can any thing give us a more melancholy view of the debasing effects of this miserable theory, than that it has given ordinary men a right to wonder at the folly and presumption of a man gifted like Mr Wordsworth, and made him appear, in his second avowed publication, like a bad imitator of the worst of his former productions.

We venture to hope, that there is now an end of this folly; and that, like other follies, it will be found to have cured itself by the extravagancies resulting from its unbridled indulgence. In this point of view, the publication of the volumes before us may ultimately be of service to the good cause of literature. Many a generous rebel, it is said, has been reclaimed to his allegiance by the spectacle of lawless outrage and excess presented in the conduct of the insurgents; and we think there is every reason to hope, that the lamentable consequences which have resulted from Mr Wordsworth's open violation of the established laws of poetry, will operate as a wholesome warning to those who might otherwise have been seduced by his example, and be the means of restoring to that ancient and venerable code its due honour and authority.

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